

Tourism and sustainable development: active stakeholder discourses in
the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa

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by

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Thesis Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work. The material contained in the thesis has not been presented, nor is currently being present, either wholly or in part for any other degree or other qualification.

Andrew Paul Lyon

16th December 2013

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the extent to which tourism is a sustainable development (SD) option in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR), South Africa. It examines the discourses of those stakeholders who can actively affect decisions or actions regarding sustainable tourism development (STD). The literature on tourism points to it being a contested development option, with a number of positive aspects which are mainly economic fitting with the neoliberal development paradigm. There are however critical concerns over the ability of tourism to contribute to the wider issues surrounding SD. There are also conceptual and practical issues regarding SD/STD with stakeholders having varying approaches to, and positions on, the concepts.

This case-study examines tourism development in the predominantly rural WBR which has seen tourism become the major economic and land-use sector in the area. Biosphere reserves are a United Nation's designation stipulating that the region should endeavour to follow the principles of SD. Therefore, how tourism develops in the area has implications for the SD of the biosphere reserve area. An inductive qualitative methodology was designed to collect and analyse the discourses of those stakeholders who can actively affect STD concerns within the WBR. Critical discourse analysis is used to reveal notions of power, ideology and knowledge relating to the macro contexts of development, SD, STD and the micro context of the geographical area.

The discourses of the active stakeholders reveal that tourism is seen mainly as an economic driver and SD discourses do emerge regarding the environment and futurity or concern for future generations. The discourses also uncover a strong 'sense of place' attachment to the region and a desire to conserve the environment. However they show that tourism does not contribute to wider SD objectives of basic needs, poverty reduction, quality of life improvement and population levels. This thesis reveals how levels of knowledge from active stakeholders, influenced by ideology, affect power in the region. The main contribution of this research is that active stakeholder discourses need to be understood in the contexts of development and that the link between discourse, knowledge, ideology and power needs to be recognised when examining tourism as a sustainable development option.

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List of Abbreviations

AD	Alternative Development
AGM	Annual General Meeting
ANC	African National Congress
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BMP	Biosphere Management Plan
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DEAT	Department of Environment and Tourism
DLG	Democratic Local Governance
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
EM	Ecological Modernisation
EMF	Environmental Management Framework
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EU	European Union
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KBE	Knowledge Based Economy
KC	Komotsogo Crafts
LEDET	Limpopo Economic Development Environment and Tourism
LTP	Limpopo Parks and Tourism Board
MAB	Man and Biosphere

MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MSAA	Municipal Systems Amendment Act
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPT	Pro Poor Tourism
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAN	South African National Parks
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAT	South African Tourism
SATOUR	South African Tourism
SD	Sustainable Development
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SME	Small and Medium Sized Enterprise
SNA	Social Network Analysis
SS	Strong Sustainability
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
TCTP	Telekishi Community Tourism Partnership
TNC	Trans National Corporation
TBL	Triple Bottom Line
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Committee
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
US	United States
WA	Waterberg Academy
WB	World Bank

WBR	Waterberg Biosphere Reserve
WBRMC	Waterberg Biosphere Reserve Management Committee
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WDM	Waterberg District Municipality
WNC	Waterberg Nature Conservancy
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WS	Weak Sustainability
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
WWS	Waterberg Welfare Society

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Chapter 1- Introduction and Definitions

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a case-study which identifies and examines the extent to which tourism is a sustainable development option in the WBR, South Africa. It seeks to explore the discourses of those stakeholders in the WBR who can actively affect sustainable tourism development (STD) in the region in order to understand issues relating to development, tourism development and SD. In order to investigate this, an analytical framework is used which consists of a number of core themes including both the macro and micro contexts under which tourism development takes place. The macro context relates to the dominant development paradigms and the concept of SD. It also examines tourism as a development option and stakeholder analysis. The micro context relates to the situational aspects of the case-study, namely South Africa, Limpopo Province and the WBR. As development and tourism development involve numerous stakeholders, the key theme of stakeholder analysis runs through the work. Power, ideology and knowledge relating to stakeholders and development are also examined. The literature on SD is extensive, although there are still conceptual and practical concerns regarding the concept. However, the literature on the link between tourism and development and SD is still in its infancy and therefore this study seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge on tourism and SD.

The essential problem being discussed relates to the literature that informed the development of SD. This literature focuses on development and its associated problems relating to the environment and imbalances in society. SD is both a theoretical and practical answer to attempt to address these problems and following the Brundtland Report in 1987 and the Rio Summit of 1992, there was a call, particularly from the UN for all economic sectors or industries to become more sustainable. Numerous principles and objectives which underpin SD emerged as did those for tourism, namely STD. While theoretically appealing, the concepts of SD/STD are contested and there are various approaches and positions that can be taken. This means that putting SD/STD into practice or making it happen can be problematical as it means

different things to different people and hence to the various stakeholders involved in development concerns.

The UN through its Man and Biosphere (MaB) programme proposes a way of attempting to move places down a sustainable pathway and one such biosphere was created in 2001 in the Waterberg region of South Africa. The main economic and land-use sector in the WBR is tourism and therefore how it is developed has SD concerns in the region. The literature on tourism development states that while it is often proffered as a development option it is an industry that has not only economic, but environmental and social effects on places. The industry affects and is affected by numerous stakeholders and it is those stakeholders who can affect decisions regarding the sustainable development of the industry that hold the key to sustainability concerns. Therefore this thesis examines what are termed 'active stakeholders' in STD in the WBR. This is achieved through an investigation of the discourses of thirty five active stakeholders within the WBR in order to examine whether this influential group see tourism as a sustainable development option. How tourism has been and continues to be developed has important repercussions for both the people of the region and the environment, therefore this thesis helps to generate a greater understanding of the link between tourism and SD in a specific geographic locality. This work also has wider implications for SD/STD as it adds to the body of knowledge on the link between these two concepts, particularly the notions of context, discourse, power, ideology and knowledge.

This chapter sets the scene for the thesis and introduces the concern that is being investigated. First, this involves an identification of the research problem. Second, the rationale for the study is examined which considers the reasons for investigating this concern. Third, the core research themes are introduced which form the basis of the literature review and the empirical analysis. Fourth, the aim, objectives and thesis structure are stated, followed by the contribution that this work makes to the body of knowledge.

1.2 Research Problem

The terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' (SD) have come into every day use in the twenty first century with economists, environmentalists, biologists, physicists, politicians and the business community using them to suit a variety of situations depending on their vested interests. The concepts have arisen out of a questioning of man's impact on the planet, particularly the effect of development on the natural environment. To be associated with unsustainable development would not be something many stakeholders in development would actively argue for, whether or not their focus is primarily economic. Therefore the SD concept has gained a strong position within development discourses, but with questions remaining regarding definitional sensibilities, the perspective being taken and how to put it into practice.

It is these questions that underlie this work. If mankind is to move towards more sustainable approaches to development then places need to be developed in line with and contribute towards the principles and objectives of SD. Tourism can be an industry that has numerous positive aspects, particularly economic (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1989). However the extent to which these benefits are equally and fairly distributed is questionable (Turner and Ash, 1975, Briton, 1982). This invokes the notion of power in tourism development and who has the ability to influence tourism development and reap the benefits. There are stakeholders who can affect SD/STD concerns and these are labelled as 'active stakeholders' (Grimble and Wellard, 1997). While it is recognised they are not the only important stakeholders in the development process, understanding the ideological beliefs and discourses of these active stakeholders can help to uncover power in development. Power therefore affects SD concerns and analysing notions of stakeholder power is part of the process in understanding how tourism development works in practice.

Also, part of this process is to understand the wider SD concerns that relate to holistic development approaches that underpin SD principles and objectives. The UN calls for poverty eradication, a change from unsustainable to sustainable patterns of consumption and production, and a protection and

management of the natural resource base of economic and social development (UNCSD, 2012). Tourism can contribute to these calls to some extent, particularly the protection and management of the resource base for tourism, the environment (Cater and Lowman, 1994). It can also contribute economically to regions and for some destinations there are few development alternatives other than tourism. Tourism can also help develop infrastructure, spread technology and develop linkages between economic sectors and encourage small and medium-sized companies (SMEs) (Milne, 1992; Brown, 1998; Stabler, Papatheodorou and Sinclair, 2010). In contrast, there is also the school of thought that questions tourism's capacity to address poverty and basic needs problems in developing countries (Buckley, 2012). Equity, futurity, public participation and environment all play a part in the principles of SD and the ability of tourism to deal with these issues is questionable.

Any form of development takes place within various contexts and tourism is no exception. SD is not the dominant development paradigm and tourism development takes place against the backdrop of neoliberalism. There are those who see that SD should have a central place regarding how mankind develops and there are also those who oppose any change to the hegemonic development paradigm of neoliberalism. In order to understand how development generally and tourism development specifically work in practice, the context of neoliberalism needs to be recognised. This is also the case for any analysis of SD. These macro development concerns play out at both the macro (global) and micro (local) levels. Finding ways to make SD happen is part of the SD process, hence the creation of biosphere reserves by the UN and the rationale for this thesis.

1.3 Rationale

The introduction above outlines the research concern that this thesis seeks to explore. The rationale for this work links to this problem in that the results of unsustainable development reflect on people and society, places and environments. For tourism destinations it is at the place-based level where the effects of unsustainable development are most felt. SD is therefore something which should be strived for and there are a number of ways to make this

happen. It must be noted that while SD is more of a journey than an end result, how places develop influence that journey. Studying a movement towards SD in specific places therefore adds to the body of knowledge and a greater understanding of the contexts under which it occurs. This is the underlying rationale for this thesis; to help to understand how SD/STD are implemented in practice. The case-study of the WBR is chosen because biospheres are, according to the UN, one of the mechanisms through which SD should occur. The WBR is a microcosm of the larger debate on SD, involving issues about what to develop, where, how, from whose perspective and under which contexts. The WBR is also a relatively recent phenomenon and therefore research on tourism development in the region pertaining to the biosphere is still in its infancy. A study such as this not only adds to the body of knowledge on SD/STD generally, but specifically within the case-study area.

The macro and micro contexts relating to development paradigms and the context under which the WBR operates needs examination as these underpin the situational conditions under which any development occurs. The contexts of South Africa, Limpopo Province and the Waterberg region all need to be understood as do the wider perspectives on where biosphere reserves emanate from and what version of SD is being proffered. These views, perspectives or approaches to SD originate from dominant discourses and therefore understanding the discourses of SD/STD helps to understand these concepts at both the theoretical and practical levels.

As tourism is one of the main economic sectors in the Waterberg, how this industry develops will have implications for the environment, society and the economy of the region. As seen above, tourism can be a force for good, however there are also a number of concerns relating to its use as a development option which affect sustainability outcomes. Understanding how this industry develops goes some way to furthering the knowledge and understanding of tourism development and hence SD/STD. From a tourism perspective, it is the active stakeholders in STD that affect the three pillars of sustainability (economy, society, environment) in the WBR. Therefore,

understanding these stakeholder discourses, power concerns, ideological beliefs and knowledge helps to uncover the extent to which tourism can be a sustainable development option for the WBR. For Kuhn (2007) it is not a statement of how we 'ought' to manage tourism, it is an attempt to comprehend wider perspectives, of 'what is' and to treat sustainability and tourism as an evolving discourse rather than something which is static and achievable. This implies that there should be a recognition that discourse and understanding is generated by humans and that we need to be more cognisant of the effects of discourse.

This thesis therefore has core themes running throughout which underpin the aims and objectives stemming from this rationale. These themes are examined both in the literature chapters and used as themes for the empirical analysis of the active stakeholder discourses. They are introduced below and then the debates surrounding these themes are explored further in the literature chapter.

Thesis Themes

- 1) Context - Macro context:
 - a) Development and development paradigms.
 - b) Tourism as a development option.
 - c) SD/STD – concepts, principles and critique

- 2) Context – Micro, place-based
 - a) National level – South Africa
 - b) Regional/local level - Limpopo Province, Waterberg
 - c) Waterberg Biosphere Reserve

- 3) Stakeholder Analysis
 - a) Active stakeholders
 - b) Power, ideology and knowledge

1.4 Background to the Study

The concern that this thesis investigates relates to whether tourism can contribute to SD. This section explores the background to this issue and examines the concept of SD, tourism as a development option and its fit with the principles of SD. Development of any kind occurs in context and the themes which underpin tourism development in the WBR are then explored focusing on stakeholder analysis, discourse, knowledge, ideology and power.

The background to SD is well documented¹ and throughout the 1950s and 1960s a number of publications contributed to the rise of the environmental movement and a debate involving topics such as population growth, resource use, economic development and environmental concerns (Ordway, 1953; Osborn, 1953; Carson, 1962; Ward, 1966; Mishan, 1967; Ehrlich, 1968; Meadows et al, 1972; Schumacher, 1973). The development of the SD discourse can be seen as a result of the growing environmental movement along with a concern that the dominant, mainly economic development paradigms of modernisation and neoliberalism were having damaging effects on environments and people. These concerns called for a more balanced idea of development and resulted in the concepts of 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' articulated in the UN's 'Brundtland Report' which defined SD as development that:

“Meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.”
(WCED, 1987, p54)

The report's core theme centres on how to square the circle of the competing demands for environmental protection and economic development through the approach of SD (WCED, 1987). It advocates a three pillar approach to development of giving equal importance to economy, society and environment. SD however is a contested concept. There are multiple meanings in the discourse of SD (McCool, Moisey and Nickerson, 2001) and the language which has emerged over time around SD is also contested. As

¹ For background to SD see: (Barbier, 1987; Redclift, 1987; Lélé, 1991; Reid, 1995; Moffatt, 1996; Clark, Munn and Conway, 1987; Mebratu, 1998; Robinson, 2004; Redclift, 2005)

discourses are the material of ideology and all language use is ideologically based (Bakhtin, 1986), stakeholders therefore appropriate and use these terms, but they do so from a particular ideological standpoint and from varying levels of knowledge construction. These ambiguities and the fuzziness surrounding SD can therefore enable misappropriation and manipulation, enabling the term to be hijacked for almost any standpoint. Conversely, this is also what is often appealing about SD and allows a variety of perspectives and positions to be held, explored and implemented. Therefore the SD concept has gained a strong position within development discourses but with questions remaining regarding definitional sensibilities, the perspective being taken and how to put it into practice. As SD involves conflicts, trade-offs, bargaining, winners and losers it also involves the notion of power.

Power is a central theme in development and hence SD. Crush (1995) asserts that SD is also not value neutral, but a concept charged with power. Power is related to those with control over the dominant discourses giving rise to hegemony. As Foucault argues, it is who controls not only the discourse of development, but the associated actions that determine outcomes (Foucault, 1980). For poststructuralists there is a relationship between knowledge, power and discourse (Fletcher, 2000) and linked to Foucault's argument, this leads to outcomes or material realities. Numerous stakeholders operate within the development system and have various power positions, therefore in order to understand how SD occurs, the power of the various stakeholders in the development process needs to be analysed. Not all stakeholders are equal in the development process. Some have more influence and power over development than others. Active stakeholders are those who affect decisions or actions, while passive stakeholders are those who are affected (either positively or negatively) by those decisions (Grimble and Wellard, 1997). If stakeholders can affect decisions or actions regarding development concerns, then that makes them active in SD outcomes. If a stakeholder can affect one of the three pillars of sustainability (economic, social or environmental), then they are also classified as being active in the SD process

There are contrasting views as to whether tourism can contribute to SD. Tourism is often viewed as an industry that has the ability to achieve economic and social development in destination areas (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). Since the advent of mass tourism in the late 1950s the industry has been seen as a driver of economic growth and a contributor to local, regional or national economies (Bryden, 1973; Diamond, 1976; de Kadt, 1979; Inskeep, 1991). However critical voices emerged regarding mass tourism starting in the 1960s and 1970s. Economic analyses of tourism find that significant amounts of income never reach the destination, remaining with the Western travel agencies, tour operators and airlines and that within the destination there is considerable expenditure on imports, again contributing to economic leakage (Jafari, 1974; Turner and Ash, 1975; de Kadt, 1979; Bull, 1998). Low multiplier effects are identified by Bryden (1973) and Turner and Ash (1975) as being a particular problem that needs to be addressed. Smith (1977) examines tourism from a social perspective by analysing the negative socio-cultural effects of host-guest encounters and tourism development. Numerous authors are highly critical of tourism as a development option (Jafari, 1974; Sadler and Archer, 1975; Diamond, 1976; Hoivik and Heidelberg, 1980; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Latimer, 1985; Murphy, 1985). The damaging environmental effects were also part of these early critiques. It is inevitable that tourism development brings about changes in the physical environment through the building of tourism infrastructure, superstructure and other tourist activities. The resultant negative effects include changing land-use, increased urbanisation, visual, water and noise pollution, ecological disruption to flora and fauna, deforestation, improper waste disposal, and damage to historic and archeological sites (Turner and Ash, 1975; Cohen, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Concomitant with the critiques of development resulting in a call for more sustainable approaches, the critiques of tourism also developed into a movement towards sustainable tourism development (STD). The United Nations World Tourism Organisation's (UNWTO), (previously known as just the WTO) definition of STD was published in their blueprint for the sustainable

development of tourism 'Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry'. It is based on the much quoted Bruntland Report's definition of sustainability.

"Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, and biological diversity, and life support systems."
(WTTC, WTO, Earth Council, 1995, p30)

While this work shows that the principles of STD do generally map across to those of SD, there are however concerns in the literature that tourism as a development option has more to do with sustaining the tourism industry rather than the wider developmental aspects and objectives of SD (Pigram, 1990; Hunter, 1995; 1997; Sharpley, 2000, Hardy, Beeton and Pearson, 2002, Telfer and Sharpley, 2008, Buckley, 2012). If tourism is to be seen as a sustainable development option, it needs to fulfil the wider SD objectives of basic needs, population, quality of life improvements and political systems change.

The key challenge is how to make SD, or from a tourism perspective, STD happen. The UN sees SD as a concept which requires practical application and one such approach to pursuing SD goals is through their Man and Biosphere (MaB) programme.

"Biosphere reserves are areas of terrestrial and coastal ecosystems promoting solutions to reconcile the conservation of biodiversity with its sustainable use."
(UNESCO, 2009)

The MaB programme proposes an interdisciplinary research agenda and capacity building aiming to improve the relationship of people with their environment globally. The programme seeks to affect the ecological, social and economic aspects of biodiversity loss. The programme uses the network of reserves as a means for knowledge-sharing, research and monitoring,

education and training, and participatory decision-making (ibid). The objective for biospheres is to promote SD based on local community efforts and sound science through reconciling the conservation of biological and cultural diversity and economic and social development. This is to be achieved through partnerships between people and nature, whereby a variety of approaches to SD from local to international scales are tested and implemented (UNESCO, 2011). The designation and creation of the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve in South Africa by the United Nations through their Man and Biosphere (MaB) programme in 2001 stipulated that the area should endeavour to follow the United Nation's principles of sustainable development.

The Waterberg Biosphere Reserve

The WBR was formed in 2001 and sits in the Waterberg District in Limpopo Province in South Africa. This study examines SD/STD within this geographic area which is predominantly rural in nature. The WBR cuts across six local municipalities: Magalakwena, Modimolle, Lephalale, Bela-Bela, Mookgopong, and Thabazimbi (see Figure 1.1)

There is only one small town in the WBR, Vaalwater which has an adjoining township,² Leseding. There are other rural settlements and small villages, but the area is predominantly a wilderness whose main economic activities are tourism and agriculture (Taylor, Holt-Biddle and Walker, 2003). The population within the Waterberg District is around 600,000, 90% of whom are African, 9% white and 1% other ethnic groups. There are 9 languages spoken, with 58% speaking Sepidi, 9% Afrikaans and 1% English (Waterberg District Municipality, 2011). The Waterberg area has unique geological formations, a diverse range of flora and fauna, mountain ranges, wetland areas, archaeological sites including San rock art and large areas of bushland. The area is malaria free, has a mild climate, is around two and a half hours drive from the urban conurbations of Gauteng Province and

² Townships are areas created during the apartheid area whereby the non-white population was forced to live. They are usually on the edge of towns or cities and characterised by issues relating to poverty.

provides numerous opportunities for the development of outdoors, recreational-based tourism (Taylor, Hinde and Holt-Biddle, 2003; Limpopo Provincial Government, 2009). The type of tourism in the WBR revolves around the natural environment and is predominantly game viewing, hunting or outdoor recreation in the African 'bush'.

Some typical images of the environment are shown in appendix 1. Since the decline of agriculture in the Waterberg, there has been a shift in land-use away from agriculture to tourism. Therefore how tourism is developed will have an influence on whether the WBR can be a sustainable destination. As the main and-use industry in the area and one that is growing, the sustainable development of the tourism in the WBR is required if the biosphere is to achieve the UN's mandate of putting SD into practice.

The Waterberg as a rural area in South Africa is still feeling the effects of the apartheid regime. The legacy of apartheid in South Africa is critical to any study of development in the country. For many in rural South Africa, life has not changed significantly since apartheid ended. Numerous problems still exist in Limpopo Province in rural areas including high unemployment rates, poor education, lack of opportunity, poor infrastructure and service provision, and regional and local governments which have capacity, funding and management problems (LEDET, 2009).

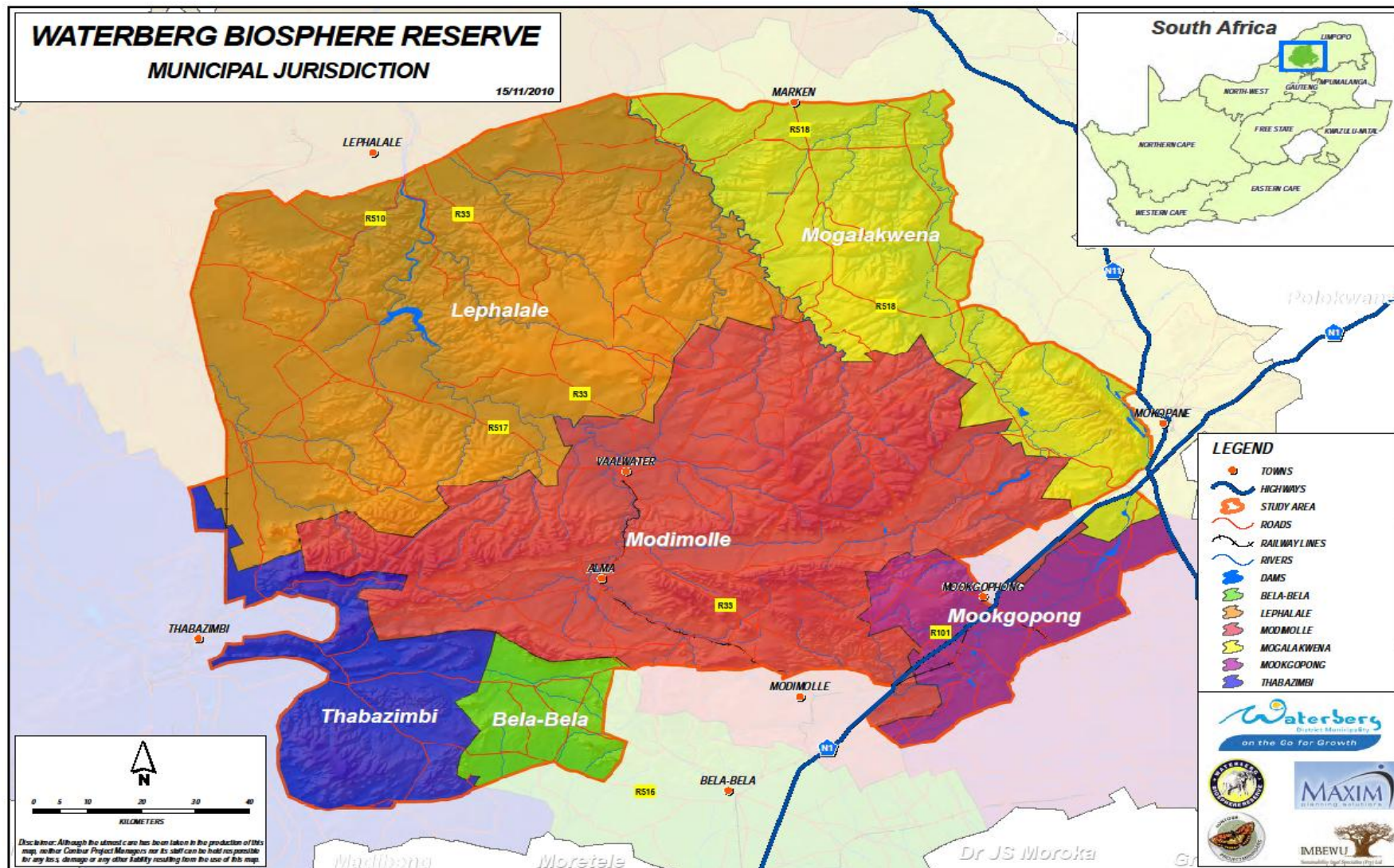


Figure 1.1: Waterberg Biosphere Reserve municipal jurisdiction. Produced with permission from the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve

1.5 Aim and Objectives

This thesis takes a mixed methods approach using both primary and secondary research to address the debates on tourism and SD which are outlined above and expanded on in the literature review. Specifically, active stakeholder discourses of development, tourism development SD/STD are applied to these debates in the WBR. In order to develop the knowledge and understanding of SD/STD through the examination of this particular case study of the WBR this thesis has one specific aim:

To examine active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa to understand the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable development in the region.

In order to achieve this aim, a number of objectives are examined:

1. To critically discuss the issues which surround tourism development and its contribution to sustainable development.
2. To critically analyse the discourses of active stakeholders concerning development, tourism development and sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve.
3. To establish the extent to which tourism development can contribute to sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve.

1.6 Thesis Structure

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis is split into a further nine chapters.

Chapter two examines the macro contexts that relate to this thesis. The debate against which tourism development in the WBR is set against is informed by the discussion surrounding development paradigms, SD, tourism as a sustainable development option, stakeholder analysis. The notion of development and development paradigms are explored as these underpin development concerns at theoretical and practical levels. It is recognised that development causes economic, social and environmental problems and as a result the concept of SD emerged. The background, principles and critiques of the concept are explored showing that there are various approaches to and positions of SD. These major themes are explored in the form a number of perspectives including power, ideology and knowledge.

Chapter three continues the macro analysis focusing on tourism as a development option, critical voices and the concomitant rise in STD. A critique is offered and the link between STD and SD examined. Stakeholder analysis is discussed focusing on active stakeholders in the development process, influence, power/interest and saliency.

Chapter four discusses the micro context relating to this case-study, particularly that of South Africa, the Waterberg region and the WBR. The concept of biosphere reserves is explored, along with why and how the WBR was formed. This is followed by a discussion of the main issues within the WBR as gained from the literature.

Chapter five addresses the methodological and philosophical considerations of the thesis and examines the approaches used in order to achieve the aim and objectives. The main primary data collection method comes from the interviews of thirty five active stakeholders in STD in the WBR. The main methodological tools used to examine this data are stakeholder analysis and the actual discourses are examined using critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Chapter six A stakeholder mapping exercise is carried out in his chapter identifies the main stakeholders in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve. The stakeholder analysis techniques identified in chapter three are used to

undertake the stakeholder analysis of those stakeholders active in STD in the WBR.

Chapters seven present the results from the primary research using CDA to examine the discourses of the active stakeholders. The macro themes identified in chapter two are examined focusing on development and SD.

Chapter eight continues the discourse analysis and focuses on tourism as a development option and the micro context relating to the WBR. It also examines issues of knowledge, ideology and power regarding STD.

Chapter nine critically discusses the empirical findings in relation to the literature from chapters two, three and four, drawing together the salient points from the research.

Chapter ten concludes the work, drawing out the key findings in relation to the research aim and objectives, the contribution, weaknesses of the work, limitations and future areas for research

1.7 Contribution

This thesis attempts to make sense of the social world through an analysis and an explanation of the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa. As Petre and Rugg (2010, p14) state, a research project needs to answer the question “So what?” This relates to articulating on the areas surrounding the importance of the question, the significance of the findings and the implications for theory. In essence, this is the contribution of the project. The contribution of this thesis is in four areas:

Case-study Knowledge – The biosphere in the Waterberg is a relatively new phenomenon and hence, research into the area is limited. It adds to the body of knowledge on the region, particularly on how tourism is viewed from those active stakeholders in STD. Biosphere mandates require a SD approach and

this thesis expands the debate on whether tourism can contribute to sustainable development in this region.

Theoretical – there are also wider theoretical contributions to knowledge. If tourism is to contribute to SD, the link between SD and STD principles, objectives and practice needs greater attention. This thesis seeks to do just that through an examination of the active stakeholder discourses. It is these active stakeholders that influence the direction of tourism development and hence development outcomes. Understanding and analysing the discourses of these active stakeholders helps to further the debate around SD/STD both conceptually and empirically. The theory surrounding SD/STD calls for more ‘bottom-up’ and ‘community-based’ approaches to development. This thesis explores this idea by examining those stakeholders who can affect sustainability concerns and therefore have some power in tourism development. Power is an essential element of tourism development and this thesis looks to contribute to a greater understanding of power in the tourism development process. The contribution lies in synthesising wider development concerns relating to power, where power emanates from and the knowledge and ideologies that underpin it.

Methodological – there is also a lack of critical discourse analysis in studies that examine tourism as a sustainable development option. The core themes of this thesis of context, knowledge, ideology and power also relate to the key principles of CDA. This approach examines both what people say and why they say what they say. Both the coherence and the cohesion of discourses are examined to reveal notions of knowledge, ideology and power which help to develop and uncover the ability of tourism to contribute to SD. This approach can then be utilised in a number of situations regarding tourism development.

Practical/Policy- There are wider policy implications for this research. For example, as tourism is one of South Africa’s growth industries, how it is developed will have implications for the economy, society and the environment. This thesis has potential implications for policy makers,

particularly at regional/local levels. There are also implications for how tourism moves along a more sustainable pathway in other biosphere reserves and protected areas, not just in South Africa, but globally. There are also specific policy and practical implications for understanding how tourism can be part of the movement towards a more sustainable WBR.

1.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced the problem or concern that is the focus of this study. Tourism can be seen as an attractive development option for destinations and this thesis explores the extent to which it can contribute to sustainable development in the WBR. While SD is seen as inherently a positive development route, there are critical concerns over both the theoretical and practical elements of the concept. Through the WBR the sustainable development of tourism is seen as one way of putting theory into practice and therefore this work seeks to explore these aspects to enhance knowledge and understanding of SD and STD. There are central themes which emerge from both the literature on SD and STD and the primary data from those stakeholders active in SD/STD. These relate to dominant development paradigms, stakeholder analysis, SD/STD perspectives, discourses, power, ideology and knowledge. These areas are explored further in the contextual chapters which follow.

Chapter 2 – Contextual Analysis – Macro Level I – Development and Sustainable Development

2.1 Introduction

The following three chapters set the context for this study. The role of the literature in this study is twofold. These chapters contextualise and position the study and are used to interpret and theorise about tourism development and SD in the WBR. The problem/issue being addressed is whether tourism can contribute to SD in the WBR. To this end, the contexts under which tourism development occurs need examining with these contexts occurring at both the macro and micro levels. The macro level context is one of the central themes of this thesis and is the focus of this chapter. This involves a study of the problems associated with development through the various dominant development paradigms. Other core themes of this study are also introduced using development as the context, these being: discourse; power; ideology and knowledge. The rise of SD was a reaction to the social, economic and environmental concerns of development. As biosphere reserves are ways of putting SD into practice, the concept of SD is explored through an examination of its emergence, its core principles and critiques. These critiques take the form of the debate around conceptual interpretations and the various positions of and approaches to SD which can be taken. South Africa is also introduced as part of this context and their approaches to development and SD are examined.

2.2 The Problem with Development

It is against the backdrop of the dominant development paradigms that SD has transpired, although it is still an emerging concept with neoliberalism being the current prevailing approach to development. It is under the dominant, mainly economic development paradigms that the more negative effects of development have been recognised and felt. Development paradigms and outcomes are determined through discourses which are influenced by ideology and knowledge and these core themes of the thesis are also examined in this section. Also central to this thesis is the notion of power in the development process and this too is discussed both in terms of development generally in this chapter and tourism development specifically in

the following section. This section examines the effects of these dominant development paradigms, focusing on the problems they have caused which have resulted in the movement towards a call for more sustainable forms of development. First, a definition of development is proposed.

Defining development can be problematical as it can be seen as a philosophy, a process, the outcome or product of that process and also a plan guiding the process towards desired objectives (Hettne, 1995; Preston, 1996; Todaro and Smith, 2008). The concept of development goes back centuries and has its modern roots in the growth of science, capitalism and industrialisation in Western culture from the Renaissance onwards³ (Rist, 2006). Early definitions of development support the notion of modernisation achieved through economic approaches to development akin to Rostow's stages of development (Rostow, 1960) measured by Gross National Product (GNP) per head. The United Nations, however, expanded the parochial, economic boundaries of development through the idea of basic needs. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in their Human Development Report in 1991 stated that:

“The basic objective of human development is to enlarge people's choices to make development more democratic and participatory. These choices should include access to income and employment opportunities, education and health, and a clean and safe physical environment. Each individual should also have the opportunity to participate fully in community decisions and to enjoy human, economic and political freedoms.”
(UNDP 1991, p1)

The above definition of human development could be seen as a utopian scenario of development, something which is to be strived for. Rist (2006) takes a different approach stating that definitions should follow Durkheim's two-fold criteria of a) covering all the phenomena in question and b) including only their external characteristics. He sees that definitions of development

³ For a full discussion on the use of the term 'development' pre 1949 see Sachs (1992).

should include the characteristic of developmental change, that is, that which distinguishes modern societies from traditional ones. He sees that:

“Development consists of a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require – for the reproduction of society – the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand.”

(Rist, 2006, p13)⁴

The interesting notion from the above definition and one that is particularly pertinent to the study of sustainability is the idea that there is an innate destruction of the natural environment in development. There is therefore a tension between the views of development as espoused above and that of sustainable development which is examined after the various dominant neoliberal paradigms are examined in the following section below.

2.2.1 Modernisation Theory

The dominant and pervasive US foreign policy influenced development during the post-war period, along with aid programs from the multi-lateral, bureaucratic organisations. These were initially, the Bretton Woods Institutions - the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), along with other multilateral organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Modernisation is based on a scientific rationale of economic development as progress, stages of development growth, trickle-down economics and modern economies being superior to lesser developed ones and underdevelopment curable through industrialisation (Rosenstein-Radan, 1943; Solow, 1957; Hirschman, 1958; Rostow, 1960). Modernisation is rooted in a US-centric discourse of economic progress with distinct ideological underpinnings related to the dualist positioning of the developed and undeveloped worlds (Tucker, 1999). The notion of dualism is examined by Kreutzmann (1998) stating it is interpreted through the continuation of conventional power structures, societal

⁴ Rist (2006) fully explains each element of his definition in his text (see pages 13-18).

setups, social behaviour, attitudes and norms as an endogenous property of the moribund traditional sector. In this paradigm, modern societies are seen as superior, welcoming of change, upwardly mobile, controlling of the environment, secular, are organised and based on scientific rationales. They are therefore seen as models for traditional societies, whose attributes are seen as limited, inward looking, inert, passive towards the environment and having insufficient complexity of industrial production and bureaucracy (Bendix, 1967; Gilman, 2003). During the 1960s and early 1970s a series of political and economic crises began to trouble the global economy. For developing countries it was clear that loans were not being repaid, projects had no promise of future returns or money was expropriated by elites.

Huntington (2007) contests that modernisation is disruptive to traditional societies, conflicts can occur due to interactions and tensions and inequalities are generated. It is the Western-oriented elites that benefit from the policy shifts and this can conflict with the traditional elements in society, potentially resulting in power struggles. Rapid growth can cause inflation, Western land ownership systems are adopted enhancing inequalities and uneven development occurs (ibid). The crisis of the Western-centric modernisation theory started in the 1950s and grew in the 1960s and 1970s when it became apparent that the predicted social and economic change in the traditional societies did not always occur. Development as modernisation has been much critiqued, for example early works by Seers (1969) and Slater (1973), with the former questioning the appropriateness of economic measurements and the latter the duality model. For Frank (1966) the Third World was depicted crudely and old-style colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism, dominated by the multilateral agencies and multinationals. Eisenstadt (1974) reflects on the breakdown of modernisation, concluding that the modernisation paradigm fails to recognise the variety of demographic, social, economic, or political processes at work in traditional societies. There are also concerns over the role of the state and the level of involvement it was to have in development projects (Schuurman, 2000). For example, Herath (2009) states historical evidence has shown that industrialisation does not necessarily lead to development as those countries which neglected the

agricultural sector faced both social and economic crises. Although other development paradigms have replaced modernisation theory, it still has relevance in today's globalised world. For Gilman (2003) modernisation is not dead, particularly post Cold-War, and post 9-11, it has just been reinvented still posing questions on America's domination and whether "The celebrators of globalization were the heirs of modernization theory." (Gilman, 2003, p1).

2.2.2 Dependency Theory

It was due to these critical concerns surrounding modernisation that dependency emerged as an alternative economic development paradigm starting in the 1950s, continuing through to the 1970s. Dependency theory replaced the idea of expert knowledge of development, associated with modernisation theory, with an expert knowledge of underdevelopment (Hobart, 1993). Marxist, structuralist, dependency-oriented discourses argue that the developed world underdeveloped the developing world as a result of the exploitative capitalist system reinforcing the idea of elites in development. It is these elites that subsume local pressures and the distribution of wealth into a world-dominating system (Frank, 1966). The world system analysis theory was later developed by Wallerstein (1974), whereby the global economic system was divided into centre and periphery with development problematic in the periphery due to the divergence of resources away from the periphery to the centre. For one of the main proponents of dependence theory, Furtado, the focus centres on cultural dependence as a result of colonisation. This left the dependent, less-developed countries at the mercy of the dominant technological and consumption patterns of the developed world (Boianovsky, 2010). This results in low levels of economic development in the periphery (Frank, 1966) and environmental degradation through global markets determining production methods, use of inappropriate technologies and the exploitation of the environment for economic ends (Hecht, 1985). Dependency theory also examines power relations, discourse and knowledge. The production of knowledge and the associated discourses of the Third World are produced by the media and also through the ownership and control of the whole infrastructure of knowledge production (Tucker, 1999).

The dependency approach was conceptually and politically challenged due to what was termed an 'impasse in development theory'⁵. This impasse in (Schuurman, 1993) was reached as a result of the widening gap between rich and poor, a short rather than long-term policy focus in many developing countries, a number of economic and environmental catastrophes, and with socialism being increasingly delegitimised. Dependency was being surpassed by neoliberalism as the dominant economic-based development paradigm.

2.2.3 Neoliberalism

The failure of modernisation resulted in a number of global crises, which had roots in the developing world. During the 1960s and early 1970s it became evident that the developing countries were defaulting on loans that could undermine the global banking system if the situation continued. Owusu sums up the issues for African countries:

The political scene was characterized by coups, civil strife and ethnic violence creating political instability. The public sector suffered from underproduction, while the number of urban unemployed and underemployed in the countryside continued to soar. There was also widespread administrative corruption, inefficiency and institutional anarchy. Thus, despite the initial promise of many African countries, the situation at the beginning of the 1980s had turned very bleak.
(Owusu 2003, p1657)

The crisis and particularly the notion of government intervention in all matters economic was subject to a strong intellectual and political backlash, from neoliberals (academics, politicians, multilateral organisations and international financial institutions) who called for the removal of governments' hold over the economy and the reintroduction of open competition and laissez-faire economic policies (Portes, 1997). This critique emphasised that poor governance had led to a lack of faith in the state and their legislatures to effect economic growth. This has been called the 'counter-revolution' in development theory and policy (Hettne, 1995) and to differentiate this new wave from old liberalism, the term 'neoliberalism' was used.

⁵ For a review of this impasse in development theory see: (Booth, 1985; Schuurman, 1993).

The basis of neoliberalism is market-oriented economics which focuses on privatisation, deregulation, liberalisation, reducing state intervention and an emphasis on the globalised economy and individualism. Boianovsky (2010) charts the rise of neoliberalism and contends that a relatively small group of influential economists, many of them with links to the World Bank and IMF, sought deregulation and free trade. The policy arena's hegemony of the early 1970s was dominated by these multilateral organisations favouring less state intervention resulting in a neoliberal transition (Cohen and Centino, 2006). Since the 1980s neoliberalism has been the dominant development discourse through the depoliticisation of development and globalisation (Schuurman, 2009).

One of the central outcomes of the neoliberal programmes was that the benefits often flowed to the developed world. Rapley (1996) notes, when countries opened their economies before they had developed an export industry, they received few benefits. Domestic market liberalisation was therefore only successful with practical state intervention. The repercussions of the drive towards neoliberalism are therefore countries accepting the fate of being players in the global market and acknowledging all that it entails with results and outcomes mixed.⁶ The environmental outcomes of neoliberalism in developing countries is summarised by Haque (1999, p199):

“In effect, neo-liberal policies are likely to expand industrialization (causing environmental pollution); globalize consumerism (encouraging consumption of environmentally hazardous products); multiply the emission of Co2 and CFCs (worsening the greenhouse effect and ozone layer depletion); over-exploit natural resources (depleting non-renewable resources); increase the number of urban poor and rural landless (forcing them to build more slums and clear more forests); and, thus, threaten the realization of sustainable development objectives.”

⁶ For a discussion on globalisation and its effects on developing countries see: (Hoogvelt, 2001; Moore, 2001; Stiglitz, 2002; Escobar, 2004; Ghosh and Given, 2006; Roberts and Hite, 2007).

Neoliberalism favours industrialisation as a measure of progress, therefore mass production, driven by the motives of profit and accumulation, and a consumer society has meant intensive industrialisation of almost all economic sectors to produce, preserve, and transport varieties of goods and services. This process remains a major factor responsible for environmental catastrophes such as global warming, ozone-layer depletion, deforestation, soil erosion and resource depletion.

Since the early 1980s neoliberalism has become the dominant development discourse through the growth of the globalised economy argues Schuurman (2009). He does note however that the global financial meltdown in 2008 offers an opportunity to develop critical development theory, while Herath (2009) states that for varying reasons critical development research is often expected to come up with something better than capitalism. While this is perhaps laudable and offers potential for various perspectives, the realities since the fall of communism and the continued development of the globalised economy are perhaps from a practical perspective, somewhat limited. As Sklair (2000) argues, the three institutional supports of the capitalist, neoliberal system, namely those of the transnationalist class, the Trans National Corporations (TNCs) and the culture-ideology of consumerism are unlikely to be overthrown by alternative social movements. Neoliberalism has therefore become and is likely to remain the dominant development paradigm for the foreseeable future.

2.2.4 Alternative and Post- development

While modernisation and the subsequent neo-liberal paradigms of development have dominated development thinking since the 1950s there have always been alternative views opposed to the mainstream. In a critical perspectives review of alternative development (AD) theory Pieterse (1998) sees the dissatisfaction in the 1970s with mainstream development thinking crystallising into an alternative, people-centred approaches geared to the satisfaction of needs; these being endogenous, self-reliant and in harmony with the environment.

It is unequal discourses and power relations that have shaped development thinking argues (Escobar, 1995), viewing the developing world as backward, poor, and needy implying a need for intervention. This intervention has been through the developed world from multilateral agencies, development experts, trans-national corporations (TNCs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The 1980s saw a number of 'post-development' approaches.⁷ For the post-development school, development as a concept has failed in its objectives and should be abandoned in favour of an inward looking, self development perspective rejecting Western notions of technocentrism (Rahnema and Bawtree 1997). Hettne (1995) argues that issues of visibility, participation and justice are needed, due to what Sachs (1992) refers to as outdated notions of development. Development is viewed as a Eurocentric cultural construction, whereby difference is associated with backwardness and underdevelopment is something to be derided (Rahnema, 1997). It is also seen as a system of domination imposing Western thinking and discourse about how the world should be (Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997).

Postcolonialism

Postcolonial theory emerges in the 1970s and can be characterised by a number of perspectives and approaches, although there are certain common threads in the literature, most notably those of power, resistance, and identity constructions (Lunga, 2008). As Nichols (2010) notes, Foucault's work on discourse, objectification and its link to the formations of power has specific relevance for understanding postcolonial theory. Mishra and Hodge (2005, p399) argue: "The seeds of postcolonialism were sown in the project of modernity itself, it was always locked into that premise and globalization does not resolve its contradictions." Postcolonialism theory has its roots in the work of Said's (1978) publication '*Orientalism*', and examines how hegemonic, colonial discourses are reinforced through the discursive and textual production of First World by the Third World and particularly discourses relating to 'the Other'. Notable contributions come from Said (1978), Spivak

⁷ Sach's (1992) Development Dictionary provides a number of different views and interpretations of post-development.

(1985) and Bhabha (1992) who talks of unequal and uneven cultural representations and a hegemonic normality to uneven development.

Postcolonial discourses centre on positioning 'the Other' and are related to how other societies or cultures should be managed. Postcolonial theory homogenises people and carries connotations of backwardness and binary contrasts between 'us' and 'them', 'self' and 'other' (Darby, 1997, p2-3). How the 'Third World' (also a postcolonial discourse) is positioned and developed by the West is rooted in power linked to knowledge argues Said (1978). The West has the power to name, represent and theorise through the appropriation of this knowledge and it is through language such as modern/backward, developed/underdeveloped, First World/Third World that postcolonialism is rooted. As Downing (2005) notes African voices are seldom heard and they are not as loud as Western ones. For Spivak (1985) the subaltern cannot speak and she argues along Foucauldian lines stating that knowledge and power go hand in hand, therefore understanding and framing the Third World is about getting to discipline and monitoring it in order to have a more manageable 'Other'.

2.3 Development Paradigms in South Africa

South Africa has undergone a major political shift since the apartheid regime and this has also meant a concomitant alteration in how development concerns have been viewed. This section examines development and SD issues in the context of South Africa.

The ideological approaches to development during the apartheid regime shifted from a Verwoerdian model of 'separate development' through to more technocratic neoliberal approaches (Tapscott, 1995). The Verwoerdian model was based on national distinctiveness of ethnic groups, the linking of politics to socio-economic development and the resultant ethnic separation in the creation of Bantustan homelands to where millions of people were forcibly removed. This was based on First World, Third World dualism and discourses that see underdevelopment is a result of the backwardness of Africans. In development terms, this politically motivated separationist/dualist

approach failed to deliver economic development to the masses. This was more of a result of political issues relating to the apartheid regime and its ability to trade due to external economic and political pressures, than the development policy (Jones and Stokke, 2005). The lack of socio-economic development in the Bantustans necessitated a change in thinking which emanated from the P.W. Botha regime in the 1980s. Development was decoupled from politics and the technocratic solutions which were offered to development problems in South Africa fitted well with the development thinking of that time. As the West moved towards neoliberalism, rejecting Keynesianism, so too did South Africa and it embraced the new discourse of development:

“The new developmentalism rested heavily on discursive efforts to depoliticise the social order, to transmute the racial characteristics of the state and to argue that social life should be governed by the market.”

Tapscott (1995, p182)

During the struggle for political freedom the African National Congress (ANC) had its political ideology in communism. By the time they became the first democratically elected government in 1994, this ideology had become more oriented towards socialism, although according to Peet (2002), the ANC was moving towards neoliberal policies well before the 1994 elections. At the time of the elections, the economy was in deep structural crisis and in need of fundamental restructuring. The ANC saw that economic growth and development/redistribution were integrated and their solution to economic restructuring was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (ANC, 1994). The shift towards neoliberalism emanated from both internal ANC sources and from pressure from within South Africa, mainly from large-scale business organisations and the media. It also came from outside the country from the World Bank and IMF (Peet, 2002). The World Bank argued that poverty reduction would come from job creation in private sector labour-intensive industries (World Bank 1994; 1996). The IMF stressed that development would be achieved through an export-oriented economy and

trickle-down economics, again with growth coming from the private sector (IMF 1992).

Following the RDP, the ANC's subsequent economic development policy was entitled Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR). GEAR argued for higher economic growth rates to be achieved through an export-oriented economy, budget deficit cutting, trade liberalisation and wage controls (Government of the Republic of South Africa 1996). In essence, these are all neoliberal policies and fit well with the neoliberal discourse from the World Bank and IMF. The ANC actually went further than the recommendations of these multilateral organisations and pursued vigorous deregulation and privatisation programmes all in the desire to achieve a business climate that was internationally competitive. National government also shifted the responsibility for socio-economic development to lower levels of government, calling for them to be strategic, visionary, influential and to take a leadership role in involving citizens and civil society in the development process. This was to build social capital and find local solutions to SD (ANC, 1994). While this was laudable, it was not without problems. Many non-white councillors had no formal education and local authorities lacked the human and financial capacity to achieve what the national government required (Binns, Dixon and Nel, 2012).

The results of these neoliberal policies have been mixed. Carmody (2002) examines the immediate post-apartheid period until the early 2000s finding that between 1996 and 2000 more than a 500,000 jobs were lost when ANC predictions stated that the 600,000 that were meant to be created. Economic growth rates dropped from 3% in 1996 to 1.7% in 1997, 0.6% in 1998, 1.2% in 1999, and 1.3% in 2000 (Statistics South Africa 2012). Since the early 2000s neoliberal policies have continued with South Africa achieving GDP growth rates of between 3 and 6%. Neo-liberal globalisation continues to enlarge the gap between South Africa and the developed countries, creating new patterns of uneven development within South Africa (Carmody, 2002). It also means South Africa is not immune to global economic forces and GDP fell 2% in 2009 following the global economic crisis, although it has since turned positive

with growth rates of around 3% to 2012 (World Bank, 2013). Racially, the divide in income is narrowing, but average incomes for black Africans rose 179% between 2001 and 2011 and are 60,613 Rand per annum. For whites in the same period, incomes rose 88% to 365,164 Rand per annum (Statistics South Africa, 2012). As a result of the apartheid legacy, South Africa was and still is a highly unequal society, whereby migratory labour predominates. This forces many of the black population into a situation of dependence on white-controlled capitalism entrenching them as a servile proletariat (Petersson 1997).

2.4 Development, Discourse, Power, Ideology and Knowledge

The core themes mentioned in the introduction that underpin this thesis include discourse, power, ideology and knowledge. It is recognised in this work that these themes are not mutually exclusive and this section examines these areas linking them to the notion of development. The concerns relating to the dominant development paradigms above are a result of hegemonic discourses of development which have determined outcomes. The term 'discourse' has a variety of meanings and interpretations and involves the use of language, but it is also a form of social practice (Mayr, 2008). A discourse or a communicative interaction can be a policy, a political strategy, a speech, conversations or a historical monument (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). It involves language-in-action, but also thoughts, words, objects, events, actions and interaction (Gee, 2011). For the purposes of this thesis discourse refers to:

“All the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation”
(Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p6)

Discourse comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity which is connected to social, cultural and historical patterns and developments (Blommaert, 2005). Habermas (1971, p314) states: “knowledge is always constituted in reflection of interests” therefore constructing reality. He sees that how we understand the world is related to our knowledge and therefore what we say reflects this knowledge. Knowledge relates to how decisions are

made, by who and the resultant consequences. There are different types of knowledge and these are featured throughout this thesis.

“Factual knowledge can be represented in terms of classifications and relationships. This sort of knowledge is often termed *declarative knowledge*. *Procedural knowledge* is concerned with the procedures and rules for manipulating the declarative knowledge and also with the control structures which contain information about when and how to apply the procedures and rules. In expert systems the knowledge represented is often that acquired from a human expert.”
(Wright and Ayrton, 1987, p13)

In development, both declarative knowledge and procedural knowledge are evident in decision-making. Those with knowledge of how systems operate, the rules of those systems and how to utilise knowledge to have control over issues will have influence and power over decision-making. It must also be recognised that there other types of knowledge, for example indigenous knowledge that relates to cultures and environments.⁸. Discourse, reproduces both power and knowledge and affects what is put into practice. In terms of development, organisations such as the multi-lateral agencies created post Second World War are the result from the “development and realisation of a discourse as a legitimate reality in a bounded network of action” (Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, p.1438). Discourses therefore result in material realities such as institutions, policies and development projects

This thesis takes a critical approach to the problems associated with development generally and tourism development specifically. Critical theory has its roots in the Frankfurt School, whereby one important aspect underpinning criticality is that discourse mediates ideology and there are various historical, social and ideological reasons how and why discourses gain prominence (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Ideologies are strongly linked to language (Fairclough, 1989) therefore societal discourses are ideologically based (Bakhtin, 1986). Ideology refers to “a set of beliefs or attitudes shared

⁸ The anthropological literature has numerous studies on indigenous knowledge. See (Brokensha, Warren and Werner, 1980; Sillitoe, 1998; Semali and Kincheloe, 1999; Sillitoe, Dixon and Barr, 2005).

by members of a particular social group.” (Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p10). An ideology can be carried by a word such as ‘development’ or ‘sustainability’ and appropriated by stakeholder groups to achieve their ends. Thus understanding notions of power are essential in the development process, determining how and why development occurs with the main arguments being summarised by Crush:

“Power in the context of development is power exercised, power over. It has origins, objects, purposes, consequences, agents and contra Foucault, much of this seems to be quite patently within the realm of the economic and the political. “
(Crush, 1995, p7)

To summarise, development does not just happen. It is the result of hegemonic discourses which are the result of both knowledge and ideologies. Power is also linked to knowledge, ideology and discourse all of which determine development outcomes. It is therefore the discourse surrounding the problems associated with development that has given rise to the concept of SD, which is discussed below.

2.5 Background and Principles of Sustainable Development

This section examines the background and principles of SD which are a result of the questioning of man’s effect on the planet. This is followed by a critique of the concept of SD as it is contested with numerous interpretations. Various positions of and approaches to the concept are also discussed. The positions of SD that can be adopted range from very strong to very weak, while there are also a number of approaches to SD that can be undertaken and these can be categorised under the three ‘Rs’: ‘radical’; ‘reform’ and ‘repudiate’. Putting SD into practice is therefore problematical due to these interpretations, approaches to and positions of the concept and this is also discussed.

In chapter one an introduction to the concept of SD was given, where it was noted that the concept arose out of a concern for concerns associated with development. There were growing concerns through the 1970s and 1980s regarding pollution and environmental problems were global issues. The UN

started to become more involved in global environmental and developmental concerns and started to drive the SD agenda. Therefore a change of direction in policy initiatives was required as it was becoming recognised that development was the problem. This period saw the rise of the dominant neoliberal paradigm whose advocates failed to see, or did not believe that there were drawbacks to market-oriented economic development policies.

2.5.1 Principles of Sustainable Development

The concept of SD has resulted from the growing awareness of the global links between mounting environmental problems, socio-economic issues relating to poverty and inequality and concerns about a healthy future for humanity. As stated in the introduction, these concerns culminated in the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987) and its much quoted definition of SD. At the core of the Brundtland Report are both radical and reformist elements. The radical aspect entwines the linkage between environmental and developmental issues, arguing that ecological sustainability cannot be achieved unless poverty is addressed (WCED, 1987). It argues that poverty reduces people's capacity for sustainable resource use as they are both the agents and victims of environmental damage and they live in the least resilient and most environmentally threatened areas of the planet (Pearce and Warford, 1993). The poor tend to depend on common property resources and they have a tendency to overuse resources such as land, forests and water, in so doing, degrading them. Another problem arises from their subsistence lifestyles in that they have limited scope for planning to make natural resource investments (e.g. soil conservation) that give positive returns over the years (Assan and Kumar, 2009). The reformist argument suggests that the solution to both over- and under-consumption, and therefore the answer to environmental concerns, lies in increasing human development (five to ten times increase in gross world activity over in the twenty-first century). This emphasises development that was sensitive to the environment to meet the needs of the poor, or as Robinson (2004) states squaring the circle or balancing the often conflicting ideals of environmental, social and economic development, often referred to as the three pillars of sustainability. Goodland

and Daly (1996) summarise the objectives of the three pillars (see Figure 2.1 below)

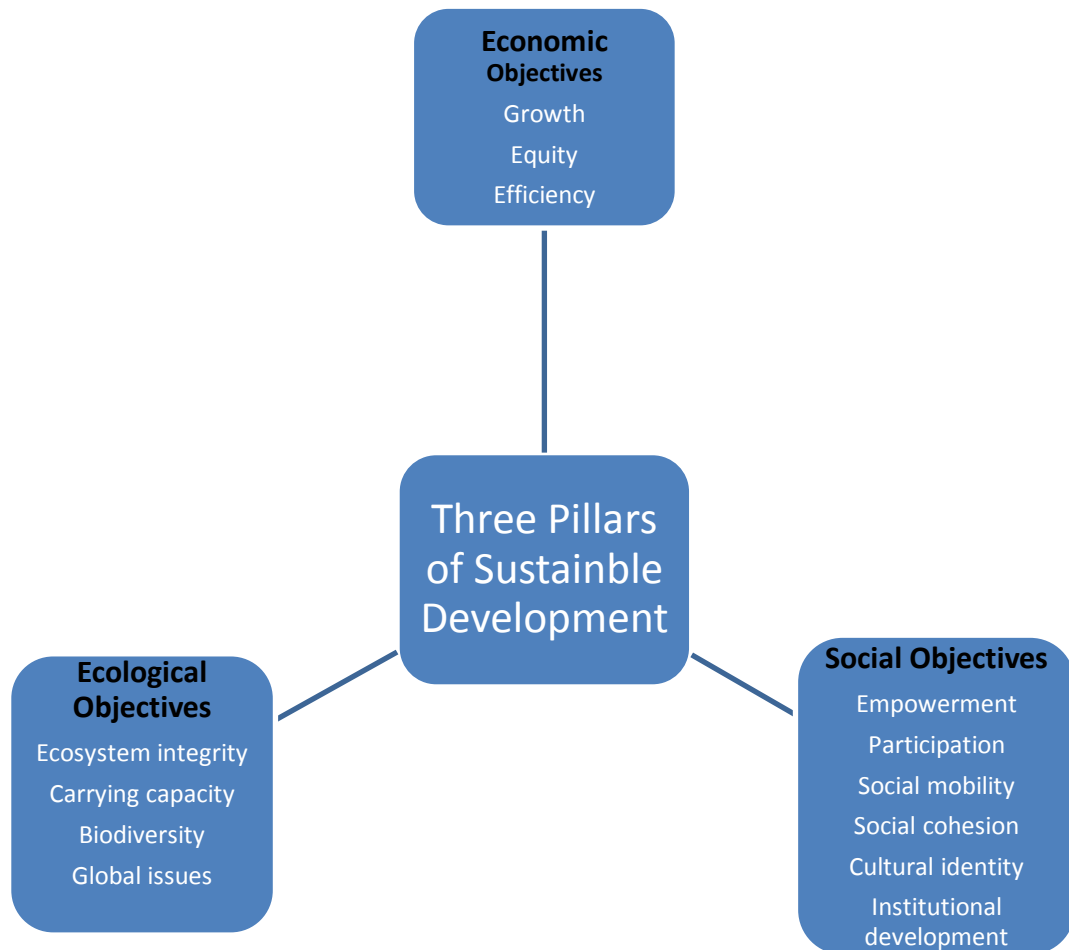


Figure 2.1: The objectives of the three pillars of sustainability - adapted from Goodland and Daly (1996)

The Brundtland Report could be seen as a utopian scenario – a five to ten times growth in world output and environmental responsibility being at the core of this (WCED 1987). This has been described as an oxymoron (Cassils, 2004) based on his research into population growth. The Brundtland Report assumes that development and prosperity will lower fertility which relates to the demographic transition theory⁹, which has been highly contested

⁹ The demographic transition model seeks to explain the transformation of countries from having high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates. See Caldwell (2006) for a discussion of the demographic transition theory.

(Abernethy, 1993). It is in the world's marginal regions where nearly all the increase in global population in the twenty-first century will occur and it is in these areas where the demographic transition has largely failed to take effect (Cassils, 2004). Even if it did, it would be insufficient because of environmental limitations and declining supplies of natural resources. Other factors such as AIDS/HIV, religion, natural disasters and government policies on education and health all affect birth and death rates and therefore the world's population is expected to rise from around seven billion in 2011 to over nine billion in 2050. Most of the growth comes from developing countries, putting even more pressure on the world's resources (UN, 2011).

The next significant milestone in SD was the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in June 1992.¹⁰ Two main issues prevailed at the summit: the link between the environment and development and practical interpretation seeking to balance the modalities of environmental protection with social and economical concerns (UN, 1992a). The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development contained twenty seven development principles that should underpin sustainable development in order to combat poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of ecosystems (UN, 1992b). Permeating the UN literature was the demand by developing nations that there would be a transfer of funds from the developed world to the developing countries to implement SD (ibid). Also coming out of the Rio summit in 1992 was the blueprint for policy implementation in these areas, Agenda 21. This was seen the plan of action for SD to be implemented globally, nationally and locally by organisations in every area in which humans impact on the environment. The successful implementation was seen to be the responsibility of governments through national strategies, plans, policies and processes, albeit through a process of international cooperation. The UN saw itself as having a key role to play while other international, regional and sub-regional organisations were also seen as essential to contribute to the plan. The UN

¹⁰ For an account of the main UN summits post 1992 see Hens and Nath (2003)

also stated that there should be broad public participation and the active involvement of the NGOs and civil society (UN, 1992b). In a summary of SD literature in the late 1990s Palmer, Cooper and van der Worst (1997, p88) identify four inter-related themes in the SD literature:

- Futurity – Concern for future generations.
- Environment – Concern to protect the integrity of ecosystems.
- Public Participation – Concern that individuals participate in decisions affecting them.
- Equity – Concern for today's poor and disadvantaged.

Building on the above and in a synthesis of the SD literature Sharpley (2000) examines the fundamental principles and objectives of the concept – see Table 2.1 below.

The Rio+20 Earth Summit was the UN's next major review of progress on SD producing the document *The Future We Want*. It was also an update of how to progress the concept in light of twenty years of international negotiations. In a review of the summit Cléménçon (2012) states it is a victory for developing countries as it marks a movement towards them having more of a role in the negotiations and reaffirms poverty eradication as the major SD challenge. He reviews the backdrop to the summit arguing that it came at a time which was not conducive to grand multilateral visions for SD. This is due to: reduced funding for environmental projects; the domination of neoliberalism which support a 'develop' then 'clean up attitude'; the impact of the previous Bush administration's attitude to climate change; terrorist attacks such as 9/11 diverting spend to the military; the financial crisis of 2008 onwards and political crises, particularly in the Middle East. *The Future We Want* reiterates many of the principles of the Rio 1992 summit – intergenerational equity and the three pillar approach to SD. It reaffirms the commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and reinforces the human elements of SD: human rights; equity; gender equality; peace; freedom; good governance and civil society participation (UNCSD, 2012). As well as poverty reduction as a

main theme, institutional reform and the green economy feature prominently, although Clémenton (2012) argues that mechanisms on how to achieve these are rather vague.

Fundamental Principles	<i>Holistic approach:</i> development and environmental issues integrated with social concerns from global to local levels
	<i>Futurity:</i> focus on long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem
	<i>Equity:</i> development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all in society, both in the present and the future
Development Objectives	Quality of life improvement for all including: education, life-expectancy & opportunities to fulfill potential
	Satisfaction of basic needs: concentration on needs not just income
	Self-reliance: political freedom and local decision-making focused on local needs
	Endogenous development
Sustainability Objectives	Sustainable population levels
	Minimal depletion of non-renewable natural resources
	Sustainable use of renewable resources
	Pollution emissions within the assimilative capacity of the environment
Requirements for SD	Adoption of a new social paradigm for sustainable living
	Political and economic systems dedicated to equitable development and resource use
	Technological systems that are aimed at generating solutions to environmental issues
	Global alliance facilitating integrated development policies at all levels of society

Table 2.1: Principles and objectives of sustainable development. Adapted from Sharpley (2000, p8)

2.5.2 Sustainable Development: Conceptual and Practical Concerns

The concept of SD involves a discussion of how to achieve environmental quality and socio-economic development in the long term. It must therefore involve answers to questions:

"What is to be sustained? For whom? How long?" The value of the concept, however, lies in its ability to generate an operational consensus between groups with fundamentally different answers to these questions, i.e., those concerned either about the survival of future human generations, or about the survival of wildlife, or human health, or the satisfaction of immediate subsistence needs (food, fuel, fodder) with a low degree of risk. It is therefore vital to identify those aspects of sustainability that do actually cater to such diverse interests, and those that involve trade-offs.
(Lélé, 1991, p614-615)

The literature on SD in the 1990s and the early part of the 21st century has been concerned with numerous aspects of SD, particularly implementation and measurement, both in the developed and developing worlds at numerous levels in a variety of contexts. As Agenda 21 is seen as the blueprint for implementation, one of the essential aspects of Agenda 21 is that it exists as a result of intense political bargaining during international deliberations. Therefore its chapters and paragraphs are open to multiple interpretations, as are those of SD. As Harris and Udagawa (2004) note, context is vital. In areas most affected by pollution, environmental considerations may be at the forefront of policy, in areas suffering more poverty, economic development will likely be the main consideration. In some instances, sustainability, in the environmental sense, will be the primary goal, in others it will be seen as a means to economic growth with assistance required from central government or international institutions.

A central debate regarding SD is between those who focus on technological development and institutional reform and those who argue for a necessary value and behavioral change (Robinson, 2004). For the former, SD is about achieving sustainability for human purposes and mankind's ability to solve environmental and social problems through the application of reason. For the

latter what is needed, are new ethics, sets of values ways and of relating to the natural world. The discourses of SD revolve around the following: social capital; grassroots; participation; local governance, civil society, NGO; ecological footprint; and these mean different things to different actors in different contexts and therefore open to ideological capture (Bek, Binns and Nel, 2004). This could explain their appeal as they are essentially palatable to all and that is why this version of SD has been adopted. These ambiguities and the fuzziness surrounding the terms can therefore enable misappropriation and manipulation, meaning that the term can be hijacked for almost any standpoint. Adams and Hulme (1992) contend that it is not the achievements of the discourse of sustainability which are critical, but the interests of the policy makers, bureaucrats, technical experts, organisations etc. whose needs are served by the narrative.

How SD is put into practice depends on how the concept is viewed and interpreted. This involves a thorny discussion on how best to achieve equity of access to natural resources which create human well-being and how best to distribute the costs and benefits (social, economic, and environmental) which occur from resource utilisation (Fox, 1994). In essence it is about attempting to balance the three pillars of sustainability – the economy, society and the environment, (Holder and Lee, 2007). What is needed, argue Carley and Christie (2000), are answers to difficult questions about how to balance industrial production, consumption and environmental quality through political processes all of which are dependent on ideological perspectives.

Wheeler (2004, p28) charts the various perspectives on sustainable development under four headings: Environmentalists; Economists; Equity Advocates and finally; Spiritual Writers and Ethicists. For environmentalists, environmental concerns of SD are paramount and include conservationists, preservationists, natural resource scientists, global environmentalism and deep ecology. For economists the emphasis of SD is on incorporating environmental concerns into an economic framework and includes environmental economics, ecological economics, ecological footprint analysis and socially responsible investment. The equity advocates examine structural

inequality and include dependency theorists, development critics, Third World activists and social ecologists. Spiritual writers and ethicists focus on a transformation of values and mindsets and include new paradigm writers, environmental ethicists, green politics/ecofeminists and spiritual writers. These various perspectives influence the positions of SD which can be taken and these are discussed in 2.5.4.

Futurity

Futurity involves the needs of future generations or inter-generational equity. This however raises intergenerational concerns regarding obligation, motivation and uncertainty (Catron et al, 1996). They argue that three fundamental questions need asking: what is our obligation to future generations? How can we motivate the present generation to fulfil these obligations? How can we know what future generations require? It can be argued that futurity is affected by resource availability for future generations (Becker, 2005). As mankind depends on natural resources to meet our needs and aspirations, the principle of futurity includes the requirement to keep within the environmental limits of the Earth. When considering sustainability problems, any impact of today's actions on tomorrow's generations must be related to capital stocks and assigning property rights to individuals, states Meyer (2000). He argues that this is not feasible if intertemporal external effects are considered, as future generations cannot own property rights today. Even if today's generation conceded these rights to future generations, they would be unable to use these property rights to state their preferences in the market as they cannot be present today, thus constituting the crucial problem of sustainability. From an economic perspective, Howarth and Norgaard (1992) argue that incorporating economic values to environmental capital is required if intergenerational equity is to be achieved. However, it does not solve the moral question of how the rights of future generations and responsibilities of current generations should be defined and is still the centre of much debate on SD.

Environment

While the main priorities of development usually revolve around the reduction of poverty, illiteracy, hunger and disease, they are quite different from the goals of environmental sustainability, which are based on maintaining the environmental sink and source capacities unimpaired (Goodland and Daly, 1996). There are however differing views of environmental sustainability.

Since the Brundtland report one ecological/development oriented theory which has emerged in both academic and policy/practice arenas is Ecological Modernisation (EM) theory. For Hajer (1995) this has emerged as the dominant way of conceptualising environmental concerns. This neoliberal approach to the environment sees that environmental degradation and economic growth are not mutually exclusive and through the capitalist system, industrialisation can be more environmentally sustainable through green regulation, investment in technology and opening up trade (Christoff, 1996). EM theory seeks institutional reform in how environmental issues are dealt with such as technological change, market dynamics and social movement activities (Mol 2002), although as Warner (2010) notes, the pace of global environmental change is out of sync with the pace of this institutional reform. EM theory and practice is about the further advancement of technocracy (both technology advances and institutional) and large corporations understand the discourse of EM argues Hajer (1996). While neoliberalism has been the dominant approach to development since the 1980s, as mentioned above, there have been alternative discourses and approaches to development and these are the basis for radical approaches to SD. Most ecological modernisers (Beck, 1992; Mol, 2002) support the neoliberal status-quo they do see the need for some reform, although this reform is to come in the form of technological advancement through partnerships between business, government, moderate environmentalists and scientists with much less concern for equity, justice or human wellbeing.

This approach to environmental concerns is the polar opposite to deep ecologists. The term deep ecology was first coined by Naess (1973) and is at odds with the anthropocentric, technocratic, Western view of man and nature

being separate entities. The deep ecology discourse revolves around the premise that the well-being and flourishing of all life has intrinsic value that all life is interconnected and that human interference in the non-human world is excessive and worsening.¹¹ Deep ecologists see that all the pollutants emitted into the atmosphere are harmful and it is overpopulation and our socio-political systems that encourage over consumption (Light, 2010).

The middle ground involves numerous approaches that accept there are mounting environmental concerns and are critical of current policies of most businesses and governments and trends within society, but do not see a collapse in ecological or social systems is likely or that fundamental change is necessary. They see solutions in generating greater knowledge and information, advancements in technology, changes in policy and market reforms will lead to a more sustainable use of environmental resources (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005).

Participation

One of the principal themes of the Brundtland Report and Agenda 21 is the involvement of citizens in decisions about and the implementations of social and economic change. Agenda 21 argues that only if ordinary members of the community, particularly those in disadvantaged groups, take part in decision making processes can the outcomes of those processes be regarded as positive. In order to promote SD, participation also involves the co-management of resources (the appropriate sharing of planning, financing and implementation responsibilities) between local communities and the state (Véron 2001). Participation also requires a rich social infrastructure of positive relationships between governance, citizens, and companies which results in information, knowledge, and understanding flowing around and among stakeholders (Healey, 1998). She asserts that where this is not the case it can lead to the promotion of self-interest or conflict and where it is the case it is generally referred to as 'social capital' (Putnam, 1993) or 'institutional capacity' (Amin and Thrift, 1995).

¹¹ For an account of the principles of deep ecology see Naess and Sessions (1985)

While this is appealing, there are a number of theoretical and practical issues. Issues of structure and agency play out here. Macnaghten and Jacobs (1997) argue that ignorance about sustainability issues can be rectified by the provision of information, which engenders concern resulting in both personal and political behaviour changes. This involves individual's agency, or a sense of people's ability to change their situation or the wider world, reacting as responsible citizens. For Giddens (1976) there is a duality between structure and agency, whereby structures shape people's practices, but it is also practices that constitute structures. SD is meant to involve numerous agents (or stakeholders) to influence events and therefore this involves ever-more complex intermeshing of structures to enable and constrain these agents (Meadowcroft, 2007). Agency involves people's social constructions of the world, discourse, power, social processes, identity and ideology (Healey, 1998). For governments, particularly in planning, this increases complexity and dealing with agency can be problematical, especially if institutional capacity is limited. As participatory methods in decision-making is a component of SD, then governance and thus government need to find mechanisms to achieve this at all levels, which is theoretically appealing, but in practice is problematical (Blair, 2000)

In practice participation is problematical for a number of reasons. Trade-offs exist, participatory process can take a long time, be expensive, information limited, and they can be complex with no guarantee of change. They need to operate within current political and economic constraints and while they should be bottom up processes they often end up being top-down (Fraser et al, 2006) In order to achieve SD with a participatory strategy, environmental awareness among the population is essential (Véron 2001) and this is not always the case. Other concerns are proffered by Bridger and Luloff (1999) who state that there can be gaps in local social organisation and a lack of locality-oriented action, especially in rural areas. There is often little coordination among actors and actions with different interest groups pursuing their own self-interest and largely in isolation from one another. It is also the dominant actors or local elites who control the process and often benefit most

from participation, while most of the costs are borne by the rest of the populace. They conclude that sources of income and employment and development decisions are made or controlled outside the locale with little regard for sustainability concerns.

Equity

The issue of equity is of fundamental concern in SD and involves issues of social justice and fairness (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005). Inequity can manifest itself as areas of deprivation, which may have poorer living environments and reduced access to a range of public services and facilities for residents than other areas (Dempsey et al, 2011). Equity does not just mean economic equity. For rural communities in the developing world, equity also involves a fair distribution of all benefits. This includes empowerment and access to land, particularly where any conservation measures may close access to an area or a resource (Berkes, 2004).

Sustainability for many in the developing world denies the advantages gained by those in the developed world and lacks a critical approach to overconsumption, which is at the root of many environmental problems. This has implications for equity in consumer lifestyles between and within nations. This is because the earth's carrying capacity cannot cope with a leveling of consumption from the bottom up (ibid). The Western nations do not want to see a fall in living standards, and the dominant consumer oriented ideology continues unabated. The unrealistic nature of achieving equity has not been accepted by most politicians and citizens and while it is desirable for low-income countries to be as rich as the higher income ones, for resource-based reasons, it is not achievable. If greater equality cannot be attained by growth alone, then sharing and population stability will be necessary. For those in power, it is easier to revert to wishful thinking than to face these two issues (Goodland and Daly, 1996).

2.5.3 Sustainable Development in South Africa

All of the above issues impinge on South Africa's ability to develop in a sustainable way. South Africa's approach to sustainability during the apartheid

era was based on maintaining pristine environments through biodiversity conservation for whites' only game parks, although thousands of black Africans were forcibly removed from these elitist enclaves (McDonald, 2002). Scant regard was given to the well-being of the majority of the population or to other aspects of the environment. The RDP was the first stage in attempting to redress the balance and it included many elements of Agenda 21 and sustainability, within a strong focus on addressing the inequalities of apartheid. According to the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD, 2004) the South African government encouraged integration of sustainable development principles into the government planning cycle. Examples of these varied policies, programs and laws include: land tenure reform; industrial strategies; regional peace and security; poverty reduction strategies; and integrated sustainable rural development strategies. However, implementation has been variable with Ballard and Jones (2011) noting that the economic developments generally prevail over environmental concerns. Planning is based around neoliberal aspects of development and trickle-down economics, therefore the environment is seen as an economic resource.

As was shown in the section above, there is much rhetoric surrounding the concept of SD. The economic aspects are often given precedence over social or environmental concerns. This has also been the case in South Africa where millions still live in poverty and economic development is seen as a priority for government (Patel and Graham, 2012). Moving towards environmental sustainability is therefore problematic when economic issues are given precedence. Despite constitutional commitments to environmental sustainability in South Africa, evidence indicates that the poor and the natural environment continue to be marginalised in decision making. A gap therefore exists between policy rhetoric embracing SD and uneven implementation in practice (Patel, 2009). Even the SD rhetoric was wearing thin during Mbeki's presidency. While SD invariably involves trade-offs, Mbeki attacked environmental laws stating they were causing development delays thus slowing down economic recovery (ibid). The micro context of South Africa relating to the case study is developed further in chapter four.

2.5.4 Positions of Sustainable Development

The literature on sustainability positions started to proliferate in the late 1980s and early 1990s, post Brundtland. The initial works examine that a variety of positions ranging from weak sustainability (WS) to strong sustainability (SS) can be taken (Haughton and Hunter, 1994). Social concerns such as equity and public participation are used by Daly and Cobb (1989) to differentiate between strong and weak sustainability ethics. The WS perspective is based on Solow's argument that by substituting other factors for natural resources 'the world can, in effect, get along without natural resources, so exhaustion is just an event, not a catastrophe' (Solow, 1974, p11). A SS ethical position requires that quality of life is equally distributed among all people and that the biosphere as a resource is not over-exploited. Conversely, a weak ethical position allows for individual opportunity and the earth's biosphere is to be used for societal good. Palmer, Cooper and van der Vorst (1997) develop Daly and Cobb's work taking the four themes of sustainability outlined above (futuraity, environment, public participation and equity), stating that if SD is to occur all four aspects need to be viewed from a strong sustainability position.

SS is an (eco) systems perspective based on resource preservation which recognises the value of maintaining the functional integrity of ecosystems over and above secondary value through human resource utilisation. The SS position is that human made capital cannot replace a multitude of processes or 'critical natural capital' which is vital to human existence such as the ozone layer, photosynthesis or the water cycle (Rees, 1998; Roseland, 1998; de Groot, Wilson and Bourmans, 2002; Chiesura and de Groot 2003). The very strong sustainability perspective is a bioethical and ecocentric approach which is heavily resource preservationist to the point where utilisation of natural resources is minimised, this approach is anti-economic growth and seeks reduced human population (Turner, Pearce and Bateman, 1994).

WS refers to an anthropocentric and utilitarian perspective of growth, whereby infinite substitution can occur between natural and human-made capital (Neumayer, 2003) and is the view taken by the UN in the Bruntland Report

(Nilsen, 2010). This is a neo-classical view relating to the work of Herfindahl and Kneese (1974) and modernisation approaches to development (Solow, 1974, Stiglitz, 1979). WS positions recognise the concern for distribution of development costs and benefits through intra- and intergenerational equity, but reject the notion of infinite substitution between natural and human-made capital and also recognises some aspects of the natural world as critical capital (for example, ozone layer and natural ecosystems). The WS position is primarily concerned with environmental principles of sustainability. To summarise, this technocratic view of sustainability is one promoting the substitutability of human-made for natural capital coupled with technological innovation to overcome environmental constraints.

The debate over the various positions of sustainability has carried on into the twenty first century, with Neumayer (2003) arguing that neither the strong nor the weak sustainability paradigm can be scientifically falsified. This is because the positions depend on ideological belief systems and there is no agreement on the scope of the subject, nor an agreed methodology for study. It is therefore values that underlie environmental attitudes and behaviour (Schultz et al, 2005).

While alternative discourses exist they have become institutionalised and entered mainstream development thinking and under some circumstances, have become or even overtaken mainstream development. This is a logical function of the way evolving nature of the overall development process (Hettne, 1990; Pieterse, 2000). The hegemonic discourses of SD which emanate from the UN are critiqued by Alexander (2010) who takes a critical stance of arguing that this institution has become infiltrated by the corporate world. He argues that over-riding discourse is the Washington Consensus standpoint that development concerns are best left to good governance, the UN, the World Bank and business interests. This in essence is a very weak position of sustainability and unlikely to change as the discourses of SD are controlled by those with power over the discourse and development. While all those who see SD as a way forward, there are still major debates as to the speed and direction of change. Positions of SD are influenced by ideological

beliefs and while radical perspectives are brought to the table, they are just that, too radical for those in power and who control the discourse. Those with different perspectives talk about the same thing – SD, but they mean quite different things and standpoints can be diametrically opposed, although couched in the same language.

2.5.5 Approaches to Sustainable Development

While the positions of SD range from weak to strong and are based on values and ideologies, there are also a number of approaches to SD which individuals or groups can take. The approaches are introduced here and fall under three categories which can be labeled the ‘three R approaches to sustainable development’: the reformist approach; the repudiation approach and the radical approach.

Reformist Approach to Sustainable Development

The background to SD above examines how ‘squaring the circle’ or balancing the three pillars of SD is problematical. Through this pragmatic approach to SD the roots are firmly planted in the UN and the Brundtland Report’s stance that the answer to the balancing act lies in increasing human development, albeit taking into account environmental concerns. In this perspective reformists accept that while development does cause problems (economic, social, environmental, inequality, resource access), it does not set out what was intended and therefore reforming how development through a sustainable, incremental approach is seen as the answer. This approach can be linked with a generally WS position that proposes incremental reforms to the status quo (Milne, Kearins and Walton, 2006). The reformists see that change needs to come through reasoned, persuasive arguments to governments and international organisations to introduce the needed major reforms. These reforms focus on technology, good science, research and modifications to the market and reform of government (Hopwood, Mellor and O’Brien, 2005). The basis of the reformist argument is centred on the Brundtland Report and this UN version of SD has become one of the most cited and discussed. Agenda 21 principles which underpin the UN’s version of sustainability and the principles of SD which stem out of the UN form the

basis of much of the policy, planning and implementation of the concept (Freeman, Littlewood and Whitney, 1996; Doyle, 1998; Selman, 1998; Spangenberg, Pfahl and Deller, 2002, Elliott, 2013). The discourses from the Brundtland Report can be seen as Western, hegemonic, ideological constructs that are contradictory and only mildly reformist. Prima facie, they are discourses apparently acceptable to all, but exemplify modernisation aspects of neoliberalism albeit a more subtle and palatable form and what Doyle (1998, p774) calls “Orwellian doublespeak”.

Repudiation Approach to Sustainable Development

The repudiation approach to SD is one whereby those who support this position do not see that development causes serious environmental or societal problems. It is the dominant view of governments and business and its supporters tend to be those who operate in positions of power and can influence development concerns (Hopwood, Mellor, O’Brien, 2005). The repudiation approach to SD fits with the modernisation and neoliberal development paradigms. Little attention is given to the environment under these paradigms as it is seen predominantly as a resource for economic benefit. Colby (1991) argues that nature is treated as an infinite supply of physical resources which are there for our use and gain and also as an infinite sink for the by-products of the consumption of these benefits in the form of various types of pollution and ecological degradation. As George (1990, p225) states “There are no ecological problems, only the social and political problems that invariably underlie and cause ecological damage.”

The growing discourse of the environmental movement through world summits on SD and global issues such as climate change has been challenged by those who see that the answers to development concerns are: continued economic growth; more development through conservative neoliberal approaches and technology-based solutions. In this view, the SD approach hinders the spread of the free market, harms national economies and threatens individual freedom. The repudiation approach relies on market force-based approaches to development and views natural capital as completely substitutable and correlates to a very weak approach to SD where

utility or consumption is non-declining over time (Pezzey, 1997). The repudiation approach is recognised as essentially being the status quo (Hopwood, Mellor, O'Brien, 2005).

The SD discourse stemming from the Brundtland Report and subsequently Agenda 21 has its roots in neoliberal discourses of development argues McManus (1996). The commissioners who contributed to the report were all politically experienced and operated in the prevailing global economic discourse of neo-liberalism. Discourses surrounding 'development' as opposed to 'sustainability' were proposed through 'achieving full growth potential' particularly in places where needs were not being met (WCED, 1987, p44). Promoting the concept of sustainability has not been without difficulty, but as Wood (1993) asserts it gained support from the multi-lateral agencies even though free market economics were still proposed, albeit with a more acceptable face to some environmentalists. The United Nations and the World Bank started to adopt sustainable policies in the 1990s (UN, 1996; World Bank, 1992). Their view of development relates to the neoliberal paradigm, the effect of which is to push these ideals through to those with hegemony over development, particularly the TNCs.

The multilateral organisations argued that in the late 80s and early 90s as a number of developing countries moved to more democratic systems, what was required to achieve socio-economic development was good governance. The problem in attaining good governance is problematical, especially for new democracies that lack institutional capacity to tackle the required economic and social challenges (Kooimans, 1993). Good governance alone does not lead to SD as it is not just a technical project, but a political project involving value choices (Meadowcroft, 2007). A movement away from government to governance is crucial in neoliberalism and according to Kütting (2004) this leads to the side-lining of ecological considerations and a lack of understanding of environment-society relations. As Graf (1992) argues this approach does not deal with the inherently political nature of growth and ecology and is essentially a discourse that technocratises these political concerns. It draws attention away from the failings of development, blames

the poor for the state of the environment and does not recognise the developed world's role in environmental degradation.

Under the neoliberal paradigm, progress towards SD has been slow. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), in their twenty year review of progress on SD are quite scathing on progress made so far stating:

“There are no major issues raised in Our Common Future for which the foreseeable trends are favourable. And, this may threaten humanity's very survival as well. The scale of the challenge is huge.”
(UNEP 2007, p1)

The World Resources Institute (which is sponsored by the UNDP and the World Bank) state that although progress has been made in reducing poverty levels, this has predominantly been in China and a few of South Asian countries. Nearly half the world's population—2.6 billion people—continue to live on \$2 per day or less, one billion on less than a dollar a day, with three-quarters of the poorest families living in rural areas dependent on natural resources for their existence (World Resources Institute, 2008). It is the neoliberal approaches to development that have not addressed this fundamental issue of poverty and have failed to generate the broad-based economic growth needed for sustainable poverty reduction (Barratt et al, 2006). As Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien (2005) note, the Brundtland report is generally reformist in broad tone but leans towards the status quo and therefore a repudiation approach in proposed details.

For the larger corporations, controlling the discourse of SD and crowding out critical opposition is a key objective contends Alexander (2009). He sees their approach to SD and the environment in particular is based around a neoliberal perspective, whereby the environment and development are framed in a non-radical ways. This is so they can demonstrate that *prima facie* they take a reformist approach, but one which has business-related values, but is essentially greenwash and business as usual. It must also be recognised that there are powerful ideas and the economic growth approach that occupies the

minds of a lot of actors, including many in the business community, prevents them from taking SD seriously (Olsson, 2009). When stripping away the rhetoric it is essentially a repudiation approach to SD. For Banerjee (2008), corporate social responsibility (CSR) is essentially a Western construct, is part of the developed world's hegemony of corporate initiatives and could lead to increased consumerism and industrialisation, which are the root of the problem in the first place.

The neoliberal development paradigm involves not only economics, but has implications for society and for the natural environment including resource application and property rights. For some, neoliberalism cannot be reconciled with sustainability as it involves a power shift from nation state to TNCs (Okereke, 2008). Corporate governance relating to globalisation and the TNCs is also incompatible with the principles of sustainability (Falk, 1999), Hayes (2006, p209) goes further, stating:

“Neo-liberalism cannot be reconciled with sustainability; there exists no middle ground. The principles underlying each and the dynamics they drive are thoroughly incompatible. The consequences are stunning; capacity of popular resistance is undermined; the protection afforded labor and the environment are curtailed; publicly held assets, including natural resources are liquidated, a license for exploitation; internal national financial management is supplanted by global firm accounts, including rampant currency speculation; indigenous economics built on internal trade, public good and subsistence livelihood are demolished; and welfare state provision providing economic security, public health and education are eliminated.”

Neoliberal policies not only have socio-economic ramifications for developing countries but environmental implications due to the anthropocentric view of the environment being taken. With regard to the environment, Liverman and Vilas (2006) concurs with Hayes, declaring that neoliberalism has been associated with the privatisation and commodification of unowned, state-owned, or common property resources such as forests, water and biodiversity.

Radical Approach to Sustainable Development

This approach sees that the amelioration of the problems caused by development requiring radical approaches. These radical approaches have their roots in post-development detractors of development. Those calling for a more radical approach to SD or radical reform require greater social and political changes to enrich human well-being, particularly of those in the developing world. For some, only the radical version of SD embodies the ethical capacity to address development and particularly environmental concerns. Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien (2005) label this group 'transformists' who argue that a transformation of society and/or human relations with the environment is vital to avoid environmental and social crisis and possible collapse. They include those who focus either primarily on the environment or the socio-economic, and those who synthesise both (ibid).

There are those that also prescribe a radical reorganisation and restructuring of society along strong ecological principles (Milne, Kearins and Walton, 2006). A radical ecological approach challenges the position that the earth's resources are there for our exploitation and calls for a consciousness of human's responsibilities to nature and our fellow humans (Merchant, 2005). It has three major branches: deep ecology; social ecology and ecofeminism (Zimmerman, 1994).¹² Radical SD and radical ecological approaches represent a challenge to liberal democracy and the hegemonic neoliberal development approaches. For Davidson (2000) radical SD has the capacity to reconcile individual autonomy with the wider social and ecological good. The discourses challenge the existing hegemony of economic development as inherently good and propose alternative ways of being, thinking and relating to the world.

2.6 Chapter Summary

In order to examine the issues that surround tourism as a sustainable development option, the context under which development takes place needs

¹² See Zimmerman (1994) and Naess and Sessions (1985) for a detailed account of these three approaches.

investigation. The sections above have outlined that under the dominant development paradigms, there has been a growing concern that fundamental issues of SD relating to futurity, environment, equity and public participation are not being addressed. This has resulted in a call, particularly from the UN, for more sustainable forms of development. SD however is a contested concept. Various approaches to and positions of SD can be taken depending on perspectives which are dependent on ideological beliefs. The dominant development paradigm of neoliberalism has influenced the SD debate and it is under this context that tourism as a development option operates. This is discussed further in the following chapter along with the final macro theme of stakeholder analysis.

Chapter 3 – Contextual Analysis – Macro Level II - Tourism, Sustainable Tourism Development and Stakeholder Analysis

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examines the macro context under which all forms of development take place. Tourism is one of the many development options available to governments and places and has impacts on economies, societies and environments, thus affecting the three pillars of SD. This chapter continues the macro contextual analysis and discusses tourism as a development option. It examines the theoretical and practical debates around the ability of tourism to contribute to SD. This leads to a discussion around STD, again from both theoretical and applied perspectives. As this thesis involves a study of stakeholder discourses of tourism development, the literature on stakeholder analysis is also examined, with an emphasis on the core themes of active stakeholders and power.

3.2 Tourism and Development

From the late 1950s tourism was viewed as an attractive development option for a number of countries for a variety of reasons. Indeed, it was the economic aspects of tourism that were particularly appealing to countries wishing to develop the industry. Many studies show that tourism can be an engine of economic growth, including: Spain and Greece (Balaguer and Cantavella-Jorda, 2002); Aruba (Vanegas and Croes, 2003); Mauritius (Durberry, 2004); Greece (Dritsakis, 2004); Egypt (Steiner, 2006). The main aspects of tourism as a option for development relate to its ability to generate income and employment, its linkages with other economic sectors and business development opportunities for small and medium-sized companies (SMEs) especially at the regional and local levels (Stabler, Papatheodorou, Sinclair, 2010). From a demand perspective it was an industry which was increasing as rising incomes in the developed world coupled with a desire to see ‘the Other’ (MacCannell 1999) were key enabling factors in tourism’s growth. Tourism was a good fit for the modernisation development paradigm. It was encouraged by governments and rapidly expanding tourism companies, and in 1963, the United Nations actively urged governments to pursue the industry

in their economic development plans and trade agreements (Osmańczyk and Mango 2003).

Under the later neoliberal programme, The World Bank also funded a range of tourism policy plans in Bali, The Dominican Republic, Korea and Turkey (Inskeep and Kallenberger 1992). In a comprehensive review of the World Bank's role in tourism development Hawkins and Mann (2007) find that in the 1970s the outcome of the Bank's involvement in tourism was variable, pointing to some economic successes, but significant environmental issues with projects in Kenya and the Dominican Republic which needed considerable remedial action. During this decade, tourism grew significantly in developing countries (Jenkins and Henry 1991). The World Bank's involvement emphasised privatisation and an increase in foreign ownership in developing countries which opened the door for tourism TNCs and Western-oriented local elites to develop the industry on neoliberal lines. Dieke (1995) examines tourism the influence of the World Bank and the IMF's involvement in tourism in twenty nine African countries from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s. His findings show a decrease in the size of government, a fall in state monopolies, privatisation of tourism related businesses such as hotels, liberalisation of the economy for investment and governments providing tax incentives to TNCs in return for investment. The development of tourism has continued predominantly unabated under the neoliberal paradigm. Tourism is both affected by and affects globalisation. It affects globalisation through the global spread of technology, finance, people and cultures. It is also affected by the forces of globalisation including individual actors and social groups beyond the overpowering structures of economy (Giddens, 1996).

3.2.1 Critical Concerns

There were however critical voices starting to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s. For those critiquing tourism, the literature and examples relating to the negative impacts of tourism are predominantly aimed at mass tourism and the power structures within the industry. Economic leakages are often cited as the main reason that tourism does not produce the desired level of economic development, particularly in peripheral areas (Britton 1982; Dearden 2010).

Those destinations that do not promote high multipliers and levels of linkages between economic sectors will not produce substantial economic development and this can cause resentment of the industry in local communities (Cohen 1982). In a summary of the reasons for low multipliers and high levels of leakage, Lacher and Nepal (2010a) find that the agricultural industry does not produce what is required, uncertainty of future land tenure, that there is an inability to compete with large corporations, there is also a local inability to create strategic alliances with the tourism industry and locals not having requisite business skills. They state that these problems are most acute in rural areas. The need and desire to provide tourists with a Western consumptive experience also means that there can be significant economic leakage through spending on imports (Jafari, 1974; Turner and Ash, 1975; de Kadt, 1979, Bull, 1998). The debate aligns with development theory analysis focusing on dependency theory (Bryden, 1973; Turner and Ash, 1975; Hoivik and Heidelberg, 1980; Britton, 1982, Murphy, 1985). Central to this argument are the core-periphery relationships whereby the linkages between the often urban core and rural periphery are weak, resulting in significant economic leakage back to the core (Brohman, 1996). These relationships exist due to the structure of the industry being concentrated by Western TNCs who control flows of capital, technology, expertise, product design, price and economies of scale (Britton 1982). This affirms the central tenets of dependency theory and causes the underdevelopment of the Third World (Muller, 1979). It also reaffirms notions of dependency and postcolonialism (Britton, 1982; Dearden, 2010). Central to determining the impacts of tourism is therefore who has control over the direction of tourism development (Ap and Crompton, 1998).

Postcolonial theory is useful in analysing tourism argue Tucker and Akama (2009). They discuss how tourism perpetuates the idea of colonial power relations on both structural and ideological levels. Tourism can also be seen as a new form of imperialism, colonialism (Nash 1989) or plantation economy (Matthews, 1978). Through mass tourism, cultural dependency evolves which is potentially damaging to local cultures and generates a tourist culture argues Nash (1989). This involves authenticity concerns and the commoditisation of culture (MacCannell, 1973; Cohen 1988) and also the cultural representations

and narratives of 'the Other' which are essentially European social constructions (Hollinshead, 1998). African landscapes and people are objectified and depicted as unchanged, unrestrained and uncivilised. For Echtner and Prasad (2003) these discourses as per those in dependency theory are binary in nature, focusing on the First/Third world divisions of advanced/primitive, controlled/unrestrained, civilised/uncivilised.

Tourism is also meant to generate employment for local people and is one of the main economic reasons for it being used as a development option. However, the industry is often seasonal and employment level fluctuations reflect this (Butler, 1990; Lacher and Oh, 2012). Local residents lack the proper education, experience and skills to take up jobs in the industry, therefore migrant labour is brought in to fill positions that require greater skill levels (Britton 1996; Ladkin, 2012). When examining tourism impacts it needs to be recognised that the type and level of the impacts of tourism are dependent on a number of variables: the type of tourism and tourist, their length of stay, their propensity to spend on imports, seasonality, spatial concentration of tourist development, the level of development of the destination and the destination characteristics (Mason, 2008).

3.2.2 Alternative Tourism

The critique of tourism as a development option continued into the 1980s and 1990s. The analysis focuses primarily on mass tourism which was seen to have not only negative socio-economic aspects, but also potentially significant environmental effects such as pollution, changing land use through urbanisation and damage to touristic sites (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Due to this critique, calls were being made for alternative forms of tourism which have less harmful effects on environments, economies and host populations (Butler, 1990; Smith and Eadington, 1992; Croall, 1995). These approaches include community-based tourism development (Murphy 1985, Inskeep 1991, Gunn 1994, Jamal and Getz 1995), domestic tourism as an alternative to international tourism (Scheyvens 2008, Archer 1985) and gender approaches to tourism (Kinnaird and Hall 1994).

A review of the literature on alternative tourism development by Brohman (1996) finds it should consist of small-scale, locally owned developments which are planned and managed by the local communities adhering to environmental and social sustainability principles. Alternative tourism paradigms initially took the moral high ground being seen as a panacea to the negative aspects associated with mass tourism. However, critiques soon emerged on the grounds that they do not address the fundamental issues of the growth of the industry, the negative impacts of tourism development and that all forms of tourism, including mass tourism, need to be sustainable (Wheeller, 1991; 1993; Butcher, 2003). The polar argument of mass is bad, alternative is good is divisive, with Butler (1991) being highly critical of the tenets of alternative tourism, arguing that alternative tourism does not address the problems caused by mass tourism. Mowforth and Munt (1998) see alternative forms of tourism as a concept that serves the protagonists of the commercial sector who seek to differentiate themselves from the mass.

The concept of ecotourism has been proposed as one of these alternative types of tourism (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996) and as this study takes place in a rural area, this form of tourism needs specific mention. Ecotourism has numerous definitions, however, Fennell (2001, p416), in a review of 85 definitions concludes that this form of tourism should encapsulate the following: a reference to “‘where ecotourism occurs’; e.g. natural areas; ‘conservation’; ‘culture’; ‘benefits to locals’; and ‘education.’” The term ‘nature-based tourism’ is favoured by some as it does not necessarily contribute to conservation, nor must it benefit host populations (Deng, King and Bauer, 2002). There have been numerous critiques of ecotourism.¹³ In a summary of ecotourism promotion and practice Fletcher (2009) argues that it tends to be framed within a set of beliefs, values and assumptions which are mainly pertinent to “the white, upper-middle-class members of post-industrial societies who comprise the majority of ecotourism providers and clients globally.” (p281)

¹³ The concept of ecotourism has been much discussed and critiqued in the literature – see; (Cater, 1993; Wheeler and Cooper, 1994; Croall, 1995; Butcher, 2003; Weaver and Lawton, 2007)

Pleumarom (1995) argues that all tourism is damaging, citing ecotourism as ecoterrorism, while Cater (1995) and Honey (1999) state that ecotourism exploits virgin territories, opening up new destinations, starting Butler's (1980) destination life cycle in new destinations, while Koch (1997) highlights many inconsistencies in the principles of ecotourism. The issue of dependency also arises as ecotourism projects often rely on outside capitalist investment and they predominantly rely on Western tourists (Khan 1997) while Duffy (2006) questions whether ecotourism can be provided by global tour operators and luxury nature based resorts or can genuine ecotourism only be found in small-scale locally run developments? As eco or nature-based ecotourism predominantly takes place in rural areas, Sharpley (2002) argues that in rural areas there are limited opportunities for economic development as many local people lack capital and knowledge to start tourism-related businesses. A particularly cynical view of alternative tourism is taken by Wheeler (1991) who is particularly scathing regarding ecotourism, stating it deals with not how to address the effects of mass tourism, but how to address the criticisms of mass tourism. He goes on to say it is essentially a green smokescreen, heavy on appealing imagery, pandering to middle-class academics and tourists and does not deal with the critical issue of ever increasing numbers on a global scale and the focus on economics as the key driver in tourism.

That the local community experiences the effects of tourism most acutely, that they potentially have the ability to respond through entrepreneurial activities and that they should be involved in the planning of tourism are prominent features of alternative approaches to tourism development. However in peripheral areas, especially those in the developing world, local people often lack the capital to run all but the most basic of services (Scheyvens 2002). Potential business people also typically lack the experience or education to market products to foreigners (Holder 1989). There has been a growing body of literature on this subject since the early works of Murphy (1983; 1985), Cohen (1984) and Allen, et al (1988). The literature highlights a number of perspectives of community involvement in tourism: equity; developmental and business management. In theory it should enhance livelihood security,

economic benefits, conflict resolution, conservation and social carrying capacity (Spenceley, 2008).

Later debates on tourism started to align more with development studies. The literature tends to concentrate on the economic aspects of tourism and poverty reduction, although this area of research is still in its infancy. Rogerson (2006) argues that the effects of poverty reduction through tourism development have been largely ignored by developing countries. One alternative approach to poverty reduction is pro-poor tourism (PPT).¹⁴ If the poor are to develop, then they need business opportunities, but these can be restricted due to lack of knowledge, training, capital and technology (Croes and Vanegas (2008). Similar arguments can also be put forward when critiquing PPT. Hall (2007) sees PPT as another form of neo-liberalism, which fails to address structural reasons for the North-South divide as well as internal divides in developing countries and subsequently leads to people being held back. In a critique of PPT Harrison (2008) addresses the above conceptual and substantive criticisms asserting that PPT has a strong future as it actually works in practice, although much more funding is required for its influences to be far reaching. However, as Brown (2008) asserts, much stronger catalysts of change are needed at the systemic level than PPT. In a comprehensive of the literature on tourism and poverty reduction in Africa, Mitchell and Ashley (2010) conclude that while tourism can in some circumstances reduce poverty, its ability to do so is limited and highly dependent on situational conditions and the type of tourism. They do note however that if the tourism industry is controlled by those from outside the region, then the benefits to local communities tend to be limited.

As communities are key stakeholders within the tourism development process, how they view their own environment is important as they are not only part of the tourism product, but they feel the effects of tourism development more than any other stakeholder (Murphy, 1985). The ways in which people express their attachment to a particular locality is according to

¹⁴ Pro-poor tourism is an approach to poverty reduction through providing test members of destination societies access to tourism markets (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008)

ethnographer Cohen (1992) through a description centred on 'belonging'. This implies more than just being born in a place, it is about being a part of the community and culture, whose depth is revealed in forms of association and social organisation within a particular community. For most people, place and place-based relationships are still an important feature of human existence (Bridger and Luloff, 1999). There is a need therefore to understand the sociologically constructed value of places, through what is termed a 'sense of place'. Humans have a symbolic identification with an area and this is evident in Cantrill's definition of sense of place: "The perception of what is most salient in a specific location, which may be reflected in value preferences or how that specific place figures in discourse." (Cantrill, 1998, p303). A sense of place is also based around what Ryden (1993) articulates as human interpretations of the physical environment. Research into a sense of place is not only important from a social or anthropological perspective; there are practical implications for planning and in rural areas in natural landscape management (Cantrell, 1998) and therefore sustainable development (Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009). Place attachment also has implications for sustainability argues Feitelson (1991) and Devine Wright (2013). They argue that people have specific attachments to a place and this can range from the local right up to the global level. If more people can see the connection between what happens at the local level the effect at the global level, this can have profound implications for global concerns such as climate change.

3.2.3 Tourism and Power

Critiques of tourism have also addressed the notion of power within the context of tourism. The arguments relating to power in the development discourse have implications for how tourism development takes place, particularly when related to developing countries, where power relationships. This occurs through the developing countries being dependent on the developed for tourists, capital for investment, technology and product design (Brohman, 1996). Power therefore lies with the developed world and as Mowforth and Munt (2009, p333) state:

“It has been argued that an understanding of issues of power is essential to an analysis of tourism developments and the role of governments in these. The necessity for such an understanding is as great for analyses of new forms of tourism to Third World destinations as it is for mass tourism developments – perhaps even more so given the relationships of new forms of tourism development. The action and policies pursued by national governments are often circumscribed at best and are sometimes dictated by the influence of external organisations. This includes the inevitability that tourism must increase, as well as the contest over which forms of tourism development should take place. It is especially so for Third World governments, weighed down by a burden of debt – a burden that was fostered on them by First World banks and governments as well as their own incautiousness resulting from the unnecessary risk from western style development.”

Therefore, how an externally controlled industry which is forever searching for new developments, often in countries with the lowest forms of production is difficult for developing countries to control. Add in top-down approaches to planning from government elites having Western values and connections, it can be seen that the tourism development process is an unequal one, hence the call for alternative or community-based approaches to tourism development. While there have been some developing countries who have followed alternative models of tourism development, notably Costa Rica and Belize, the continuation of unequal power relations in the tourism industry between the developed and developing worlds is still evident (ibid).

While there may be ‘success’ stories, however that may be measured, the political economy of tourism is on a trajectory that tends to favour the powerful stakeholders such as TNCs and governments. This is evidenced by research by Theuvsen (2004) on increasing integration of travel and tourism companies and concentration within sectors whereby the TNCs market share increases as companies merge or are involved in takeovers (Dwyer, Forsyth and Dwyer, 2010). These business practices have generally positive effects for the organisations involved through economies of scale and increased power to influence the scale and direction of their operations, but communities have little control over these practices and resultant effects.

Two of the most cited works related to power and tourism are those of Hall (1994) who examines power in the policy arena, and Urry (1990)¹⁵ who examines the power of the tourist which is inherent in their gaze. Hall (2003) and Scheyvens (2002) assert that power in tourism development is both relative and absolute and particularly affects local populations. In a development of Hall's work, Hollinshead (1998) recognises the importance of analysing the norms and ideologies which underpin the policy platforms of the dominant groups in tourism development. However, while Simpson (2008) notes that these works on power, while relevant, omit the fact that the balancing of power between tourism stakeholders is difficult to achieve and what is needed is a more comprehensive analysis of the various powers and influences of stakeholders, collaborators, partners, competitors and external organisations. This has specific implications for this work and hence why power is a central theme to this thesis.

Other perspectives on power have been examined by Marzano and Scott (2009) who identify and provide an inventory of the forms of power that stakeholders exert within the destination branding process in the Gold Coast, Australia, conceptualising what power means in a multi-stakeholder decision making process. Their work, along with that of Beritelli and Laesser (2011) examines power from differing perspectives. Notably, their work examines vertical power, horizontal power and the resource dependency approach, showing that power is perceived by various actors in different ways. These networks between connected organisations, businesses, governmental bodies, civil society and individuals exist for three fundamental reasons: first and most significantly, to plan tourism destinations; second, to stimulate economic development and third; to provide the tourist with a comprehensive experience (Morrison, Lynch and Johns, 2004). How destinations develop is resultant on these networks and when communities are viewed as networks of individuals, enterprises and stakeholders, issues of power also arise (Beritelli

¹⁵ While Urry's work is much cited in tourism studies it has been critiqued, notably by MacCannell (1999) and Crouch (2000)

and Laesser, 2011¹⁶). They continue by stating that where actors in the tourism development process are positioned, how they are linked to other actors, as well as the quality of these links, and the formation of groups and/or clusters are examples of network-related concepts which give rise to power issues. Therefore an understanding of the power differentials between actors and the various opportunities that actors have to partake in the development process are important in determining strategies to encourage engagement and to harness the contributions. Collaboration between stakeholders is required whereby consideration should be given to each stakeholder group without one being given priority over others (Byrd, 2007; Jamal and Getz 1995; Sautter and Leisen, 1999; Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel 1999) the goal of which is to balance power between the various stakeholder groups.

Tourism development is therefore shaped within complex social and political environments and influenced by power relations. Some actors in the process will attempt to control or influence the process through deploying strategies to either support or block the actions of others. This can be through power resources such as access to state apparatus, knowledge and authority, and power mechanisms such as compromise, trade-offs, manipulation, persuasion, reward, exclusion and alliance formation (Few, 2000). Power is therefore not just wielded by interest groups, but is rooted in social relations and can be used to set social norms and wield influence over other social groups (Morgan and Pritchard, 1999).

While the theoretical constructs surrounding stakeholder development are conceptually appealing, the realities of the real world are not as clear-cut. Three aspects of the tourism development process that are difficult to explore and that those studying tourism have failed to engage with are those of corruption, transparency and accountability (Coles and Hall, 2008). Abuses of power and favouritism exist in the tourism planning process state Timothy

¹⁶ Beritelli and Laesser (2011) examine five aspects of power in the literature; 1) Dimensions of power, focusing on typologies of power; 2) Influence reputation in network research, examining prominent actors; 3) Power dimensions as determinants of influence, linking the two previous areas; 4) Influence as collective perception, examining individual perceptions of others; 5) Influence and power in tourist destinations, focusing on influence and power in tourism networks.

and Nyaupane (2009) while Church (2004) argues that corruption is apparent in both the developing and developed worlds. So while collaboration is necessary, collusion and corruption also exist, reinforcing power structures, although as Church (2004) also asserts, these power structures that shape tourism development are also driven by the broader economic and political processes, which incorporate wider political economy perspectives.

Tourism has since the 1950s with the advent of mass tourism, been a tool for development, with the economic aspects emphasised as the primary reason behind this. The industry fits well with the dominant neoliberal paradigm and although there have been critiques, it is an industry that is set to continue to grow, particularly in developing countries, where the UNWTO predicts that much of the growth in the twenty first century will come (UNWTO, 2013). It is these critiques that have led to the concept of STD which is discussed below.

3.3 Sustainable Tourism Development

Sustainable tourism development was introduced and defined in the introduction. This section discusses the concept of STD, examining varying perspectives and critiques. The background to STD stems from the critiques of tourism mentioned in 3.2.1 particularly those on the negative impacts of tourism, dependency concerns and mass tourism.

Numerous principles of STD have been proposed, including those developed by the World Travel and Tourism Council, the World Tourism Organisation and the Earth Council in 1995 entitled *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry*. (WTTC, WTO, Earth Council, 1995) Other enduring principles are those developed by the World Wildlife Fund (1991) in their publication *Beyond the Green Horizon: Principles of Sustainable Tourism*. Fundamental to these principles is a balancing of social, cultural and economic concerns and recognition that stakeholder involvement is critical in planning and developing tourism. For Kuhn (2007) this raises intransigent difficulties, for it necessitates decisions about who is to make decisions on which things and activities are to be sustained.

The following is a summary of the principles of STD:

- The conservation and sustainable use of natural, social and cultural resources.
- Tourism planning should be concerned with: carrying capacities and environmental limits; long-term and appropriate use of resources; being integrated into national and local SD strategies and stakeholder involvement (particularly local communities).
- Tourism should support a wide range of economic activities and take into account environmental costs and benefits.
- All stakeholders should respect the culture, economy and way of life, environment and political structures of the destination area.
- Stakeholders should be educated and trained about STD.
- STD should be research led.
- All stakeholders should cooperate to avoid potential conflict and to optimise the benefits to all involved in tourism development and management.

(Adapted from Telfer and Sharpley, 2008)

While the above principles are a useful framework for STD, they are in essence a wish list of how tourism should be developed. Any such principles require critical approaches and the following section discusses STD from both the conceptual and practical perspectives. When mapped against the principles and objectives of SD (see table 3.1), there are similarities, but issues such as population levels, quality of life improvements, basic needs and the bigger picture issues of political systems change, adoption of new social paradigms and global alliances are not evident in the STD principles. This is one of the problems of STD and is discussed in the next section.

Principles and Objectives	Sustainable Development	Sustainable Tourism Development
Fundamental Principles	Holistic approach: development and environmental issues integrated with social concerns from global to local levels	Tourism planning should be concerned with: environmental limits; long-term and appropriate use of resources; being integrated into national and local SD strategies and stakeholder involvement. Tourism should support a wide range of economic activities and take into account environmental costs and benefits.
	Futurity: focus on long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem	
	Equity: development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all in society, both in the present and the future	
Development Objectives	Quality of life improvement for all including: education, life-expectancy & opportunities to fulfill potential	All stakeholders should respect the culture, economy and way of life, environment and political structures of the destination area. All stakeholders should cooperate to avoid potential conflict and to optimise the benefits to all involved in tourism development and management.
	Satisfaction of basic needs: concentration on needs not just income	
	Self-reliance: political freedom and local decision-making focused on local needs	
	Endogenous development	
Sustainability Objectives	Sustainable population levels	The conservation and sustainable use of natural, social and cultural resources.
	Minimal depletion of non-renewable natural resources	
	Sustainable use of renewable resources	
	Pollution emissions within the assimilative capacity of the environment	

Requirements for SD	Adoption of a new social paradigm for sustainable living	Stakeholders should be educated and trained about STD. STD should be research led.
	Political and economic systems dedicated to equitable development and resource use	
	Technological systems that are aimed at generating solutions to environmental issues	
	Global alliance facilitating integrated development policies at all levels of society	

Table 3.1: Principles and objectives of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development. Adapted from Sharpley (2000) and Telfer and Sharpley (2008)

3.3.1 Sustainable Tourism Development: Conceptual and Practical Concerns

As with the broader concept of SD there are differing interpretations and perspectives of the concept of STD with the word 'sustainable' associated with tourism being open to abuse, misuse and almost meaningless (Butler 1999). STD therefore can be a confusing term with regard to its precise implications and the resource use it implies (Collins 1999). As Wheeller (2004) articulately explains, perspective is all important. If different interpretations of sustainability are evident, resource use decisions are loaded and stakeholder views inconsistent, then a focus is needed on identifying the specific tradeoffs, policies, actions or indicators that are consistent with the notions of STD (Johnston and Tyrrell 2005). The literature in the 1990s centres on a protracted debate about definitions, alternatives to mass tourism and what was to be included in the wish list. This list features satisfying the needs of tourists (tourism demand), the desires of the industry (supply), the wishes of the host community and the protection of the tourism's resource base (natural, built and cultural) (Wheeller, 1991; 1993; Butcher, 1997; Butler, 1999). There are fundamental issues with this approach to STD. First, it is concerned predominantly with destinations as opposed to the industry

(McCool, Moisey and Nickerson, 2001; Murphy and Price, 2005) second, it implies sustainability is somehow 'achievable' rather than a journey (Hall and Brown, 2008). Third, an illusion exists that STD can occur in a manner which absolutely preserves natural resources (McKercher 1993) and fourth it involves a reductionist approach and ignores a complex systems approach (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004). These issues are discussed below.

The bulk of the STD literature centres on the preservation and/or conservation of the core resource base for tourism, the environment (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). The other primary focus is that related to policy (Murphy and Price, 2005). Tourism is a resource dependent industry (Ryan and Aicken, 2005) and is based on the attractiveness of the environment whether it is man-made or natural (Hall and Page, 2000). While it is inevitable that tourism development brings about changes in the physical environment through the building of tourism infrastructure and superstructure and tourist activities, it is how the resource base is managed that is crucial through policy initiatives according to Gunn (1994). However, within the policy arena of governments at national, regional and local levels, there is a complexity in tourism due to its involvement across a number of policy areas (for example transport, environment, land-use planning). This means that tourism management plans are either not common (Hall and Lew, 2009) or are top down and generally advocate economic development over social and environmental concerns (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). At local levels land use and development decisions regarding tourism are important because they have direct linkages to resident's quality of life. The tourism planning literature notes that stakeholder participation is important, but local governments need to take the lead, particularly regarding land use (Murphy 1985; Inskeep 1991; Gunn 1994; Jamal and Getz 1995; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). Local government should therefore take a strategic role in tourism development which involves the coordination, planning, development, marketing and stimulation of the industry. However one of the major challenges for tourism development is its integration with local land use planning and political decision-making bodies where actual zoning and development approval decisions are made (Raymond and Brown, 2007).

As with the discourses which surround SD, discourses on STD stem from an ecological discourse. However, as with SD, within STD there are a range of perspectives which often are in conflict, especially ideological separation between production, consumption and conservation. The discourses also revolve around the tensions surrounding the ecological discourse - whether humans and the natural environment are viewed as being interconnected or each is viewed as discrete. For Kuhn (2007) it is not a statement of how we 'ought' to manage tourism, it is an attempt to comprehend wider perspectives, of 'what is' and to treat STD as an evolving discourse. It is not therefore a static, achievable state, but as per Foucault, discourse is generated by humans which relates to knowledge and subsequently actions and practices. Tourism is not only a development option, but a series of discourses that affect practice which are performed from the global down to the local. Discourses of STD are not just about balancing the positives with the negatives, they are about responding to the multiplicity of inputs from the globalised system in which tourism operates (Teo, 2002). While environmental conservation is obviously critical, relatively few authors have focused attention on the application of STD to the wider human and social elements and the different more holistic frameworks that are required for successful implementation (Craik, 1995; Squire, 1996).

Herein lies one of the fundamental concerns raised in the literature regarding STD. In early critiques of the concept it is argued that it is too parochial and tourism centric (Hunter 1995, 1997). It is also at odds with the broader concept of SD and is therefore not necessarily the same as tourism developed in line with the principles of SD (Wall, 1996). This is shown in table 3.1 above. The later literature on STD started to examine the concept in line with the on-going wider debate around development and SD. For example, McCool, Moisey and Nickerson (2001) state that the early literature on STD represents views of how to sustain tourism, rather than how to relate the concept to the wider debate on development. The WTO's (1995) blueprint for sustainable tourism extols the virtues of two spurious banners, namely planning (the control of development) and designation (identifying types of

land and then implementing planning measures). The controls over development are essentially controls over communities and dictate what is developed, by who, how and where, thus determining winners and losers in tourism development projects (Ryan, 2002). These aspects are in the control of politicians, bureaucrats and local elites who have a predominantly neoliberal, technocentrist view of development. There is pressure on governments over land-use as developers tend to have economic perspectives and a very weak approach to sustainability. Designations such as national parks or biosphere reserves take an essentially Western, neoliberal view of the environment, therefore calling into question the blueprint for STD. Pigram (1990) also sees that exercises in resource management may make sound business sense, but show the inward focus of STD and which are therefore inconsistent with broader SD goals. Examples of good practice in tourism do occur, national parks can be well managed, visitor management schemes can be effective and environments protected, but as Wheeler (1991, 1993) argues they are just that, examples of good (business) practice and therefore do not adhere to the principles of SD, nor do they contribute to SD. The problem of aggregation also exists. Wheeler (ibid) also argues that just because a few examples of 'good practice' exist we cannot therefore aggregate upwards for the whole industry and state that SD/STD is occurring. Trade-offs between stakeholders at destination level need to exist and while compromise pleases no one, the realities of the industry vary enormously according to the various economic, social, political and environmental contexts within which tourism takes place. Models, theories and frameworks of STD may be useful, but for those involved with tourism planning, particularly in developing countries, access to resources is limited, as is expert knowledge, corruption endemic and power relationships unequal (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). Trade-offs are needed and attempting to sustain the environment, the tourism industry, cultures and economies is according to Swarbrooke (1999) almost impossible, particularly as tourism destinations are made up of numerous stakeholders all with a variety of ideologies and perspectives.

For authors writing on the tourism-centric perspective of sustainability, the term 'sustainable development in the context of tourism', rather than 'sustainable tourism' is used (Hardy, Beeton and Pearson 2002). Later works linking STD and development generally and SD specifically, include those of Sharpley (2000) and Sharpley and Telfer (2002) who conclude that sustainable tourism is not consistent with the developmental aspects of SD. Specifically, they argue that tourism is imperialistic in nature and the production and consumption of the product are not an easy fit with the principles of endogenous, stakeholder involved SD. The dichotomy between the principles of SD and STD is reviewed in later work by Telfer and Sharpley (2008) where they find that the development of tourism is unable to meet SD principles which include: holistic approach, futurity, equity, development objectives and sustainability objectives. They concur with Bramwell et al (2008) that the greatest challenges facing the progress toward STD are the associated global political-economic structures underpinning globalisation. Therefore while definitions and principles are important, they can be interpreted and hijacked for individual or collective purposes and involve belief systems, social constructions and epistemological concerns, particularly towards the 'big' issues of development, globalisation and the relationship between humans and nature.

The focus of sustainability in tourism is mainly on destinations and industry practices, but this is only a fragment of the development concerns argues Gössling (2000). As Liu (2003) shows in a review of the STD literature, several authors have developed an understanding of the broader complex-systems approach which include the intertwined issues of quality of life, equity and environment (Hunter, 1997; Butler, 1999; Collins, 1999; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004). These authors argue that STD needs to be reconceptualised in a more comprehensive way in order that a full appraisal and appreciation of the interconnectedness of the natural, social and economic elements can be made both spatially and temporally. Tourism is therefore a complex industry, it is fragmented in nature and it operates within a turbulent environment (Fyall and Garrod, 2005). It is also spatially dispersed, often in remote areas; many of the resources to attract tourists are

community owned, such as beaches, national parks and museums. There are numerous organisations operating in a variety of contexts; markets are distant and many businesses are either SMEs or micro businesses (Scott, Baggio and Cooper, 2008). The tourism product is also a composite one with input from a wide range of economic sectors, therefore as Jamal and Getz (1995) state, achieving coordination between sectors (public, private and not-for-profit) is problematical, although it is necessary for the survival of the operators within that sector (Dollinger, 1990). While this may be the case, Wang and Krakover (2008) find that cooperation in the tourism industry is limited, especially between private sector businesses. Therefore a complex systems approach is required when studying tourism as it is essential to understand the component parts and interactions within these complex systems. Stakeholder views, values, perceptions and issues need to be aligned to these component parts, while also recognising the duality between humans and the environment (McDonald, 2009).

This complexity is also evident when examining tourism development in developing countries. Mowforth and Munt (2003) examine the interwoven relationships of tourism, globalisation and SD critiquing the crucial role power plays in tourism development. They note the TNC domination of the industry and the lack of opportunity for many developing countries with benefits accruing to either local elites or organisations in the West (Saarinen, 2006). These issues are also explored by Sharpley (2009) who asserts that there is a lack of evidence of the implementation of SD principles in practice. The backdrop of increased globalisation, dominant neoliberal development paradigms, a gap between rhetoric and practice and consumers calling for more responsible approaches are affecting the industry argue Bramwell et al (2008). They also assert that this gap also extends to how economic and social inequalities in developed and developing societies are reduced.

In an extensive review of the literature on sustainable tourism, Buckley (2012) examines five SD oriented themes in respect to tourism: population, peace, prosperity, pollution, and protection. He argues that the topics of research have changed little over the decades (with the exception of climate change)

and that the peace and population themes are ignored by the tourism industry and researchers. This is evident when mapping the principles of SD and STD (see table 3.1). The wider global concerns of basic needs, population, quality of life improvements, political systems change and global alliances which facilitate integrated development policies and technological systems aimed at generating solutions to environmental issues are not evident in the STD principles.

He does emphasise one aspect of research pertinent to this study and that is:

“One particular current priority, however, is the ability of tourism to bring about large-scale change in land use, by generating financial and political support for conservation.”
Buckley (2012, p537)

Attempts have been made to put STD into practice and these include indicators for sustainable tourism such as those developed by the WTO and accreditation schemes (for example, the WTTC's Green Globe scheme). Twining-Ward and Butler (2002) argue while they are important, indicators for STD need to be developed out of the broader SD and environmental management literature. While Twining-Ward and Butler develop a series of indicators to measure STD, they, along with Li (2004) also argue that implementation is limited. Lu and Nepal (2009) assert that STD concepts can only be implemented efficiently if there are useful, reliable and comprehensible sustainability indicators, however operationalisation is fraught with problems as Johnston and Tyrrell (2005, p130) note:

“In all but the most rare of circumstances, there is no single, universal sustainable optimum for visitor numbers. No amount of searching, bargaining, or stakeholder education will reveal a single sustainable solution that maximizes profits to industry and utility to residents”.

Buckley (2012) in his review of STD has similar conclusions:

- Measuring sustainability in tourism is problematic due to definitional complexity and problems in comparing different impacts in commensurate terms.
- The tourism industry is far from sustainable as most tourism organisations adopt only those practices that improve profits or public relations. Regulatory change rather than a real desire to be sustainable is the main driving force of change and implementation tends to be poor.
- There is little direct public demand for sustainability in tourism as tourists expect companies to minimise their impact as part of their operations and this is not generally seen as a way to choose between providers.

The second and third points from Buckley are connected and relate to the role of the tourism industry in STD. The tourism industry is one characterised by growth and the dominance of expansionist policies under neoliberal ideology where deregulation and changing rules of the game regarding governance and TNC control of the scale and direction of tourism development in many countries. Businesses, whether they are TNCs or SMEs as Buckley (2012) asserts, do not generally see sustainable tourism as a priority and have a very weak approach to sustainability. As Hall and Brown (2008) note, tourism is essentially a series of businesses with profit maximization being a core objective of one the key stakeholders. Tourism is predominantly made up of SMEs and while CSR, sustainability and ethics are at the heart of some businesses, economic objectives are pivotal to their survival. Organisations involved in supplying the tourism product, despite being highly dependent on natural capital, have been slow to adopt the principles of sustainability and CSR (Spenceley, 2008). While some pressure comes from government, it is also emanating from Poon's 'new tourists' (Poon, 1993) who are more environmentally conscious than 'old tourists' who sought standardized, mass sun, sand and sea packages. Goodwin and Francis (2003) note that the trends of ethical consumption are spreading to tourism, although many organisations engage in 'greenwash' claiming they have sustainable policies,

but which are highly questionable once analysed more deeply. (Tourism Concern, 2006; Totem Tourism, 2013)

Some questions raised in the early discussions on STD do however remain unanswered. The UNWTO predict that tourism will continue to grow at around 3.3% per annum until 2030. They also forecast that international arrivals are expected to grow from 1 billion in 2012 to 1.8 billion by the year 2030, with the majority of the growth coming from emerging destinations, whose market share of tourism is set to increase to 57% by 2030, up from 30% in 1980 (UNWTO, 2013). As Wheeler (1991) notes, the issue of global growth in tourism is one that is swept aside with micro (destination-based) solutions favoured over macro (global) ones. This idea of growth is one that is still prevalent today. Unanswered questions remain – what happens when the majority of the Indians and Chinese (40% of the world's population) obtain the economic means to travel for recreation? As the general trend for tourism numbers to increase globally year on year there is increased pressure on the earth's resources from the industry both from the resources used in the supply side of the industry (travel, accommodation, hospitality etc.) and at destinations in terms of land and water. In essence, this results in the continued growth of an industry which is far from sustainable.

3.3.2 Tourism Stakeholders

The research into stakeholders and their interests regarding tourism development has had much coverage in the literature. The rationale for examining stakeholders in tourism is put forward by Hall and Jenkins (1995, p31) who state:

“To study interorganizational relationships, students of tourism must, among other things, identify and access the relevant key actors and agencies, examine the values, perceptions, and interests of significant individuals and organizations, and isolate the relationships within and between stakeholders.”

While they are writing specifically about stakeholders and tourism policy, their work is also applicable to a diverse range of situations and approaches

regarding tourism. On examining the stakeholder literature on stakeholders and tourism, four main perspectives are identified by Byrd, Bosley and Dronberger (2009), these being: tourists; residents; entrepreneurs and local government or management officials. They list numerous studies which have examined these four stakeholder groups focusing predominantly on their roles and perceptions in the tourism development process. The literature which examines multiple stakeholder studies is less common, however Andriotis (2005) focuses on residents and entrepreneurs, Holden (2010) on tourists, entrepreneurs and officials, Lankford (1994) on residents, entrepreneurs and officials, while Hardy (2005) and Byrd, Bosley and Dronberger (2009) examine all four. While the four stakeholder perspectives are a useful guide for categorising research, the role of civil society/NGOs is omitted. As Reid (2003) notes this group of stakeholders is becoming increasingly important in STD as more inclusive stakeholder perspectives are required. This thesis examines discourses from the public, private and not-for-profit sectors and a number of individuals from civil society, which is an approach not adopted by many researchers.

This section has shown that the concepts of SD and STD are linked and the literature points to stakeholder analysis approaches being able to help with a greater understanding of tourism as a sustainable development option. Stakeholder analysis is one of the major themes in this thesis and it is examined in more depth after the South African approach to tourism development is discussed.

3.4 Tourism Context in South Africa

In order to examine the situational conditions of tourism in the Waterberg region, the national context of tourism development in South Africa needs to be understood. This informs how tourism has developed in the provinces and the districts which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The tourist board, South African Tourism (SAT) describe three distinct phases of tourism development (SAT, 2007). The 1970s and 80s were characterised as a period of stagnation which led to low investment, the industry focusing on

the narrow white domestic market and cost reductions. The period from 1990-1998 described as a 'growth' phase was typified by an initial period of short-term profit taking, soon followed by a period of investment growth and entry of foreign players. The final phase of 1998 to 2004 was described by SAT as a period of 'cyclicality', whereby global events and currency volatility drove uncertainty and short-term strategies by firms resulting in weak investment rates. This period of uncertainty and cyclical demand has continued through to the present day, although there are signs that a renewed period of growth has been entered.

During apartheid, tourism was primarily an industry produced by South African owned corporations and consumed by the white wealthy classes (Allen and Brennan, 2004). The opportunities for the impoverished majority were limited in terms of participating in tourism either as leisure or business activities. Tourism in rural areas was predominantly controlled by white owned and managed game reserves and National Parks and casino developments in the Bantustan homelands (Jenkins, 2000). Conservation and land use systems during the apartheid system significantly favoured the white ruling minority, while the protectionist attitudes to wildlife reflected the country's political economy (Koch, 1997). Black Africans therefore equated conservation to loss of land, forced labour and poll taxes (ibid). Protected areas led to a separation between local communities and nature, because it often implied the movement of people, usually to their detriment. Communities rarely received any benefits from these reserves or these processes, nor were they compensated for damage caused by wild animals that came from the reserves (Boonzaaier, 2012). These policies continued throughout the twentieth century leaving a legacy of disputed land tenure, the repercussions of which are still being resolved today.

Post apartheid, tourism was not initially included in the ANC's detailed economic planning. However, the Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT) saw tourism as an underperforming industry that had great potential to address some of the legacies of apartheid, particularly in rural areas (DEAT, 1996). The 1996 *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of*

Tourism in South Africa highlighted many deficiencies of the tourism industry, notably: a lack of international investment and entrepreneurship; a failure to stimulate employment opportunities and the failure to link tourism and other industrial sectors. The White Paper was allied to the RDP's Rural Development Strategy with a focus on education, capacity building and using labour as a key resource in rural areas, with the training of adults to be central to developing economic potential (Government of National Unity, 1995). The strategy saw ecotourism as an ideal economic opportunity for rural communities. It also recognised that the economic benefits must be directed towards these communities and not just the usual beneficiaries such as large hotel chains and tour operators. Land tenure, socio-economic development, discrimination and conflict resolution were therefore crucial areas that were part of national policy (ibid).

Rural poverty is endemic and it is in rural areas that development is of a particular concern to government who see rural tourism as a key driver for local communities (DEAT, 1996). The 1996 White Paper called for 'sustainable development' and in 2002 the Responsible Tourism Guidelines for South Africa were published (Goodwin, Spenceley and Maynard, 2002). Implementation has been problematical and there are fundamental reasons why the development of rural tourism in South Africa is difficult: tourism markets are highly sensitive to external factors; also large amounts of capital are required for rural tourism projects. In their examination of rural tourism projects in South Africa, Briedenhann and Wickens (2004a) find that while there is a lot of noise about rural tourism projects, few get off the ground due to funding being unavailable. Local authorities have ill-defined roles, a lack of capacity to implement projects and local bye-laws for tourism development are non-existent. Agendas at the local level are therefore being driven by other more salient issues such as health, education and housing. Their research also highlights implementation problems between local authorities and the provincial tourism agencies. Incertitude, infighting and communication breakdowns and interorganisational relationship problems are emphasised as a fundamental constraint to the proactive facilitation of successful tourism development.

Governments have though recognised the importance of the industry and strategies subsequent to the White Paper from DEAT have highlighted the need for South Africa to become more globally competitive (DEAT, 2004) and for tourism policies to adhere to the principles of sustainability (DEAT, 2006). One strategic approach has been the promotion of mega-events in the country, starting in 1995 with the Rugby World Cup, culminating in 2010 with The FIFA™ World Cup. The economic benefits of this event were however concentrated spatially and opportunities for the trickle-down effect were limited (Giampiccoli and Nauright, 2010). Since 2004, South Africa has entered a new growth phase in international tourism. International visitor arrivals have been increasing quite rapidly, although domestic tourism has been declining since 2007 as the figures below show:

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
International Visitor Arrivals (millions)	6.7m	7.4m	8.4m	9.1m	9.6m	9.9m	8.1m ¹⁷	8.3
% Change on Previous Year		10.4%	13.5%	8.3%	5.5%	3.6%	-15.1%	3.3%
Domestic Overnight Trips (millions)	34.7m	36.0m	37.2m	35.9m	32.9m	30.2m	29.7m	26.4
% Change on Previous Year		3.7%	3.3%	-3.4%	-8.3%	-2.1%	-1.7%	-11%

Table 3.2: South African international visitor arrivals and domestic tourism trips, 2004-2011 Source: (South Africa Tourism, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011).

Criticisms have been made that government policies in tourism have done little to tackle the key legacy of racial inequality (Abraham, 2007). With regard to tourism there have been a number of constraints against black participation

¹⁷ From 2010 there has been a methodological change to reporting on visitor arrivals to align South Africa with the globally accepted definition of a tourist. (South African Tourism, 2011)

in tourism. These constraints include: the existence of corrupt practices in the tourism industry; connected black people having opportunities in tourism with those in wider society less so; tourism being perceived as a white persons' industry; access to finance and financial constraints on acquiring ownership of businesses; low levels of literacy and entrepreneurial skills and limited infrastructure in black areas (Magi (2010). Skills shortages and the education system not meeting the needs of the hospitality industry are also identified by Kraak (2008).

3.5 Stakeholder Concepts and Stakeholder Analysis Techniques

Chapter two shows that it has been increasingly recognised that participatory approaches to development are required in order to move down a more sustainable pathway. As the world becomes increasingly globalised and connected, any concern, whether it relates to policy, development generally, tourism development or natural resource management affects numerous groups of people, businesses and organisations. No one organisation or person owns the concern and therefore in attempting to analyse and find solutions to problems, taking these groups ideas into account is crucial in effective problem solving, policy formation and implementation (Bryson, 2003).

3.5.1 Stakeholder Concepts

Stakeholder analysis has numerous strands and can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, including, but not limited to: business/management; development; policy; health; education; tourism and any aspect of study where numerous groups, individuals or organisations (the stakeholders) have an interest and potential to influence something (the stake). In deciding who or what is or is not a stakeholder in any given situation, the definition used is therefore consequential, as it affects 'who' and 'what' counts (Mitchell, Agle, and Wood, 1997). The 'who' aspect is comprehensively covered in the definition given by Grimble and Wellard (1997) as it encompasses levels of society, public, private and not-for-profit sectors and organisations as well as communities. It is therefore what Bryson (2003) would see as 'inclusive':

“We use the term ‘stakeholders’ to mean any group of people, organised or unorganised, who share a common interest or stake in a particular issue or system; they can be at any level or position in society, from global, national and regional concerns down to the level of household or intra household, and be groups of any size or aggregation.”
(Grimble and Wellard, 1997, p175-6)

The definition above does not however adequately cover the ‘what’ aspect. For Starik (1995) stakeholder definitions should include living and non-living entities, or even mental-emotional constructs, such as intergenerationality, valuing both past generations and the wellbeing of future generations. This thesis analyses stakeholder (spoken) discourses and as the environment and future generations cannot speak they are represented through the views of other human stakeholders. Consequently, the definition of Grimble and Wellard above is to be used in this study.

The background to stakeholder analysis has its roots in the management/organisational theory literature, with Clarkson (1995) identifying that the term was used as far back as the 1930s. It was however the 1980s and 1990s that saw a proliferation of literature on stakeholder analysis with notable contributions from Freeman (1984), Brummer (1991), Donaldson and Preston (1995) and Clarkson (1995). Concurrent to and drawing on the management/organisation literature, stakeholder analysis was also being given increasing importance by policy scientists. A number of writers also draw upon the management/organisation literature, but put a policy angle onto subjects such as policy in natural resource management (Grimble et al, 1995; Holzknecht, 1996), health policy (Reich, 1994) and general public policy (Kingdon, 1984; Smith, 1993). As the literature on SD showed in chapter two, there has been an emphasis on participatory approaches to development and policy. This has meant a movement towards more inclusive stakeholder analyses to understand all stakeholder behaviours, interests, agendas, and influences on the decision-making processes. In particular, this has included the opinions of civil society and community groups (Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000).

3.5.2 Stakeholder Analysis

Stakeholder analyses encompass or affect a number of organisations, groups, or people, whether the problem relates to planning, development, natural resource management or sustainability. Stakeholder analysis can be defined as

“...a methodology for gaining an understanding of a system and for assessing the impact of changes to that system, by means of identifying the key stakeholders and assessing their respective interests.”
(Grimble, 1998, p1).

This means that there is an issue or system that exists with numerous interested groups having a stake. This issue, problem or concern is not owned by any one group, therefore all stakeholders have some partial responsibility to act (Bryson, 2003). In this work, the issue is tourism development in the WBR. It is therefore important to identify stakeholders based on presence and influence (Blair and Fottler, 1990), which requires comprehensive mapping and analysis, techniques. Stakeholder analysis can also aid in the understanding of the various ranges of potentially differing stakeholder interests (Friedman and Miles, 2004). The following section examines and discusses some of the main techniques which can be used to build a picture of who has a stake in an issue or problem, what their interests may be and why they may approach concerns in a particular way. A description and rationale of the methods used to analyse the stakeholder discourses of STD in this case study is provided in the methodology chapter.

3.5.3 Stakeholder Identification and Mapping

There have been a number of descriptive, normative and instrumental methods which have been employed in a variety of situations to identify stakeholders, differentiate between them and investigate relationships between various stakeholder groups. A stakeholder analysis can be completed using a variety of methods. These include: focus groups; semi-structured interviews; snow-ball sampling; interest-influence matrices; stakeholder-led categorization; Q-methodology; actor-linkage matrices, social

network analysis and knowledge-mapping (Reed et al, 2009).¹⁸ The process is usually an iterative one and can either be carried out with or without the participation of stakeholders and with varying levels of participation. This can range from passive consultation, whereby information is simply passed onto those carrying out the analysis, to active engagement, whereby analysts and stakeholders are seen as equals and there is a sharing of information. The latter is preferential as active engagement is more beneficial in helping to direct research aims and objectives (Rowe and Frewer, 2000) and is the chosen method in this study.

Stakeholder identification can also be either comprehensive (including everyone) or selective (including only a subset of the whole context). However, completing a comprehensive stakeholder analysis can be problematical as some may be accidentally omitted or the scope of the area of interest very broad and there being a large number of interested parties. An inclusive view of stakeholders is important in the interests of social justice argue (Bryson Cunningham and Lokkesmoe, 2002), although if the analysis is too selective, stakeholders who may be essential to understanding the problem and solving it can be left out. Therefore appropriate and thorough stakeholder identification and analysis is critical in understanding how development occurs in practice (West and Clark, 2006).

3.5.4 Active Stakeholders

Critical to this study is the notion of active stakeholders. Stakeholders can be split into two main groups, namely active and passive. To reiterate from chapter one, active stakeholders are those who affect decisions or actions, while passive stakeholders are those who are affected (either positively or negatively) by those decisions (Grimble and Wellard, 1997). This is pertinent to this study as it examines the discourses of those stakeholders who are active in STD in the WBR. This notion of active stakeholders is justified in the methodology chapter and then explored in the case study in the analysis chapters. This is one of the central aspects of this thesis and needs further

¹⁸ Reed et al (2009) provide a description of all these methods along with resources required to complete them and their relative strengths and weaknesses.

elaboration. The stakeholders in this thesis have a stake in tourism development either directly or indirectly. If these tourism stakeholders can affect decisions or actions regarding one of the three pillars of STD, then that makes them active. The previous chapter identifies the three pillars of sustainability – economic, social and environmental as being central to both the theoretical and practical debates surrounding both SD/STD.

The main stakeholder groups that are active within STD and therefore relevant to this study are: public sector organisations, private sector organisations, multilateral agencies such as the UN, civil society and NGOs. For example, business owners/managers can influence income and employment levels in an area. They may also have influence over land use and therefore their activities can impact upon resource use. NGOs or civil society organisations can also be active stakeholders in that they can affect decisions regarding the social aspects of sustainability such as quality of life and empowerment. Public sector officials can affect what is developed, where and at what pace and therefore they too can affect all three pillars of SD/STD. If stakeholders are active and can positively or negatively affect decisions regarding development concerns they also have some level of influence and power and this needs to be examined when analysing active stakeholders, hence the central theme of power throughout this thesis. These stakeholders and the decisions they take are not only affected by the macro context mentioned in the previous chapter, but their own ideologies and knowledge which affect their discourses.

The distinction between active and passive stakeholders however may not be absolute, as some groups, for example, certain local people may be involved in natural resource management in both active and passive ways (ibid). The substantial literature from organisational strategy is applicable in this context as stakeholder identification is widely used as a tool in strategic management to identify stakeholders to establish political priorities in terms of managing stakeholder relationships (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Eden and Ackermann, 1998; Freeman, 1984; Johnson and Scholes, 1993; Mendelow, 1991).

Stakeholder analysis in the development arena has predominantly focused on inclusivity and the empowerment of marginal groups in society. These could be groups such as the under-privileged, the socially disadvantaged or those without access to well established, social networks (Johnson et al, 2004). These marginalised groups are mainly passive in the development process and are not the focus of the study. The rationale for this is expanded on in the methodology chapter, however Reed et al (2009) state that the analytical power of categorisation approaches can be improved by adding further attributes to the stakeholders. This is carried out in this thesis as a number of techniques listed below are used to analyse the stakeholders.

Stakeholder analysis should not only capture the nature of the problem and its boundaries, but also the levels of interest, influence, and power associated with different stakeholders (Hjortsø, Christensen and Tarp, 2005). These areas of influence may include a geographical area, a specific policy arena or a particular organisation. This is carried out in the micro context analysis in the following chapter where both the stakeholders and the geographical aspects of WBR are explored in more detail. When identifying stakeholders, this can also be done through identification by researchers, other stakeholders or by self-selection. Written records or documentation can also be analysed as can checklists of likely stakeholder categories (Chevalier and Buckles, 2008).

3.6 Stakeholder Analysis Techniques

There are a number of ways in which stakeholders can be analysed. The following section reviews the main approaches available to researchers, policy makers and other interested parties. The techniques of particular relevance and those used in this case-study are summarised at the end of the chapter in Table 3.3.

3.6.1 Stakeholder Analysis Techniques - Influence

The section above on active stakeholders states that they can affect decisions regarding particular concerns. This means that they have some influence over

these concerns. The idea of how different stakeholders either have influence or seek to gain influence over issues plays an important part in the stakeholder literature.¹⁹ A definition of influence is given below:

Influence is defined as the 'ability' to affect others' *beliefs*, that is, their knowledge or opinions either about what *is* or about what *ought* to be the case, about what is (empirically) true or false or what is (normatively) right or wrong, good or bad, desirable or undesirable.
(Zimmerling, 2005, p141)

For Woods (2003, p2-3) "Influence refers to the capacity of one actor to modify the behaviour of another" and refer to the work of Cox and Jacobson (1973) who state that power and influence are different. Power relates to the capability or available resources to an actor and may be converted to influence, but not necessarily to its maximum potential. If the above definitions are related to stakeholder theory it can be seen that if stakeholders have influence, they have the ability to affect decisions regarding a concern, problem or policy through power. Power is discussed in more detail later in this section, but it is worth noting at this juncture there is a relationship between influence, power and an ability to affect the direction of issues such as development and SD. Just as stakeholder groups can be mapped, so too can their influences. Stakeholder influence mapping has been used as a tool in development studies to examine and visually display the relative influence that different stakeholders have over decision-making (International Institute for Environment and Development, 2005). This tool enables a better understanding and explicit discussion of who influences policy. The approach involves sketching various stakeholders in any chosen policy issue or policy arena according to group size and how much influence they may hold over the policy, and also the relationships they have with each other (ibid). A visual representation is given below in figure 3.1. While the above method is useful for examining snapshots of stakeholders influence, it is best suited to examine the direction of changes in policies or issues over time.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the difference between influence and power see Zimmerling (2005).

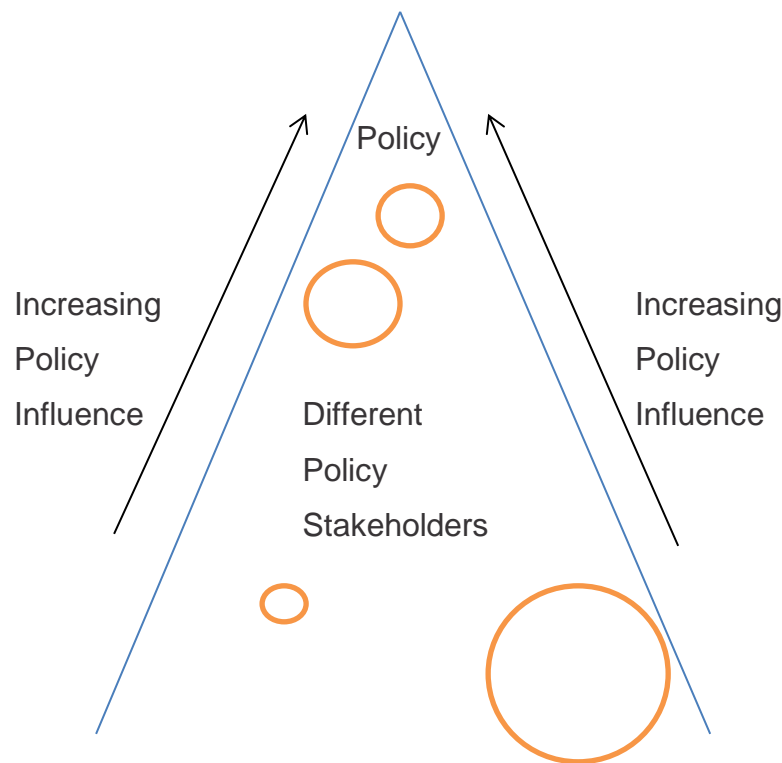


Fig 3.1: Stakeholder influence mapping, adapted from International Institute for Environment and Development (2005)

In order to have influence over an organisation or concern, stakeholders should have a deep commitment to the issues and actively pursue, interests, actions, and values that relate to the concern (Dunham, Freeman and Liedtka, 2006). Research into the policy arena is useful in making the bridge between ideology and stakeholder approaches. For example, the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier, develops the argument that actors with similar belief systems are more likely to form coalitions of ideologically similar groups who have influence over policy (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

When examining any concern involving stakeholders, it also needs to be recognised that the area of study is not static. For example, influences may change, stakeholder groups may gain more knowledge about a subject, have changing levels of interest and power structures may evolve. This means that the stakeholder analysis should be updated during the entire period of the issue being analysed in order to gain knowledge about the potential influence various stakeholders have at different stages (Olander and Landin, 2005). In

reality, this may not be possible, therefore keeping track of dynamic relationships, networks and power structures is problematical.

3.6.2 Stakeholder Analysis Techniques - Power and Interest

The notion of power was referred to in the previous chapter in regard to power in the development process. There are numerous approaches to power (Wartenberg, 1990) and as power is a central theme to this study, it is essential that the type of power being referred to in this thesis is clarified. Theories relating to power predominantly fall into two categories – ‘power to’ and ‘power over’. ‘Power to’ refers to the ability of individuals to do something on their own and relates to an individual’s traits. ‘Power over’ highlights issues of social conflict, control, and coercion and relates to ‘power as domination’. This can be traced to Machiavellian notions of power, to Weber (1986) and Bourdieu (1983). The notion of ‘power over’ is of most relevance to this thesis as it involves issues of inequality which are central to the study of development:

“...a theory of power has, as a first priority, the articulation of the meaning of the concept of power-over because social theory employs this concept as a primary means of conceptualizing the nature of the fundamental inequalities in society.”

(Wartenberg, 1990, p5)

Of relevance to this work are Foucault’s notions of power. Foucault (1980) sees power as a relational force that permeates the whole of society that connects all social groups in a web of mutual influence. Through power, this relational force constructs social organisation and hierarchy by producing discourses and truth. Order and discipline are therefore enforced, shaping human desires and subjectivities. For Foucault, power is both simultaneously productive and repressive, meaning any social body cannot function without it, even though power may result in oppression. He sits on the side of ‘power as domination’ and his work is one of resistance to this form of power. As researchers Foucault states: “We should direct our researches on the nature of power” and we should “base our analyses of power on the study of the

techniques and tactics of domination” (Foucault, 1980, p. 102). This thesis adopts the ‘power as domination’ paradigm and utilises Foucauldian notions of power and his call to examine power/domination in the context of development.

One method of analysing the influence that stakeholders have over policies, organisations, developments or other concerns relates to the power and the interest that stakeholders have or accrue relating to such concerns. The work of Mendelow (1991) on power and dynamism was adapted by Johnson and Scholes (1993) and resulted in the power/interest matrix, which classifies stakeholders in relation to the power they hold and the extent to which they show interest in the development, proposal or issue (see Figure 3.2). The matrix is designed to produce a clearer understanding of how communication and relationships between stakeholders affect the issue being studied. It seeks to answer two questions: How interested is each stakeholder group to impress its expectations or objectives on the concern and do they have the power to do so? They also help in identifying and highlighting coalitions which can either be encouraged or discouraged, what behaviour should be nurtured and whose buy in should be sought or who should be co-opted (Bryson, Cunningham and Lokkesmoe, 2002).

In stakeholder analysis power is an important concern and can come from status, the ability to claim resources and also the symbols of power (Johnson, Scholes and Whittington, 2011). These authors also examine how stakeholder mapping can help to understand whether it is desirable to move particular stakeholders from one area to another. For example, powerful investors may be in quadrant C, but it may be beneficial to attempt to move them to D to gain support for initiatives. Community groups may be in B, but often they have connections to people in D, therefore they may need to be carefully managed. The knowledge gained from the use of the matrix can also be useful in identifying the powerless and potentially advancing their interests, something which has certain relevance for SD concerns. This can sometimes be the case in stakeholder analyses relating to environmental management and development work, whereby commonly known stakeholders are included

in analyses at the expense of more marginalised or powerless groups (Grimble et al, 1995). It is used in this case-study in chapter six.

LEVEL OF INTEREST

		LOW	HIGH
POWER	LOW	A Minimal Effort	B Keep Informed
	HIGH	C Keep Satisfied	D Key Players

Figure 3.2: Stakeholder mapping: the power/interest matrix (Johnson and Scholes, 1993)

While models are useful, they offer the analyst a rather parochial view of the stakeholder environment in which actions and decisions are made. As will be shown in the next section, if a more detailed analysis is carried out which further develops this model and also examines stakeholder beliefs, ideologies and knowledge, then a clearer picture of their roles in development can be created.

3.6.3 Stakeholder Analysis Techniques - Stakeholder Saliency

As the power/interest matrix shows, power is not equally shared among stakeholders in either formal or informal structures, nor is it equal between stakeholder groups. As power implies the coercion to follow certain courses of action, the extent to which this happens is dependent on the source of that power (Marwick, 2000). This links into how power is legitimised and the work of Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) who examine not only stakeholder power, but also the legitimacy of stakeholder relationships and also the urgency of

stakeholder claims. They define stakeholder salience as: “the degree to which managers give priority to competing stakeholder claims” (ibid, p854). Their work is predominantly concerned with organisational stakeholder theory, but it can also be related to the field of development studies and Foucauldian notions of power discussed earlier. They also state that legitimacy, which refers to socially accepted and expected structures or behaviors, is often combined implicitly with power to create authority, which is seen by Weber (1947) as the legitimate use of power. Power and legitimacy can also be viewed as independent variables, but according to Mitchell Agle and Wood (1997) it does not capture the dynamics of the interactions between stakeholders. They propose that adding the stakeholder attribute of urgency helps move the model from static to dynamic. The attribute of urgency has synonyms including ‘compelling,’ ‘driving’ and ‘imperative’ (ibid). They also argue that:

“... urgency is based on the following two attributes: (1) time sensitivity- the degree to which managerial delay in attending to the claim or relationship is unacceptable to the stakeholder, and (2) criticality- the importance of the claim or the relationship to the stakeholder. We define urgency as the degree to which stakeholder claims call for immediate attention.”
(ibid, P867)

When legitimacy is combined with urgency it promotes access to decision-making channels, and when combined with power, it encourages one-sided stakeholder action. When legitimacy is combined with both, urgency causes shared acknowledgment and action between stakeholder groups and hence towards a model of stakeholder identification and salience. In their work Mitchell et al also examine seven main stakeholder types that emerge from various combinations of the attributes: power, legitimacy, and urgency. These are used in this case study and include:

Latent Stakeholders – possessing only one attribute:

1. Dormant stakeholders have power but do not have a legitimate nor urgent claim.

2. Discretionary stakeholders possess legitimacy but have no power or urgent claim.

3. Demanding stakeholders have an urgent claim but have neither the power nor legitimacy to push it through.

Expectant stakeholders - have two of the three attributes:

4. Dominant stakeholders have power and legitimacy but do not have an urgent claim.

5. Dangerous stakeholders possess both power and urgency

6. Dependent stakeholders have both legitimacy and an urgent claim but possess no power

Definitive stakeholders - possess all three attributes:

7. Definitive stakeholders therefore have power, legitimacy and urgency and therefore have the highest saliency.

They also identified non-stakeholders who possess none of the attributes

8. Non-stakeholders – have no power, legitimacy or urgency

There have been many applications and studies of Mitchell et al's work (Agle, Mitchell and Sonnenfeld, 1999; Knox and Gruar, 2007; Parent and Deephouse, 2007; Yu, 2009). The three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency do however pose analytical challenges. There are numerous interpretations and definitions used by researchers (Dutton and Duncan, 1987; Friedman and Miles, 2002) with power being the most difficult to use as it is such a problematic and contested concept (Marzano and Scott, 2009).

Mitchell and Agle, in their later work with Chrisman and Spence, develop the notion of stakeholder salience. They examine how various types of institutional logics or frameworks influence belief systems, values, and the resulting behavioral processes in such a way that they function as institutional logics. These logics include the cultural beliefs and rules that shape the cognition and behaviors of actors (Mitchell et al, 2011). A definition of institutional logics is offered by Thornton and Ocasio (1999, p. 804): "the formal and informal rules of action, interaction, and interpretation that guide and constrain decision makers." The institutional logics of businesses tend to be profit, customer care and market share, while for governments they are

centred on public welfare, power, law, and for civil society institutional logics are concerned with conservation, peace, community, development and are dependent on which area of society they are involved with. Institutional logics are also used as part of the stakeholder analysis in chapter six. Stakeholder salience is therefore influenced by institutional logics and the degree to which various stakeholder claims are given priority will be dependent on these values, beliefs and social relations.

When examining groups of stakeholders in the development process it is therefore necessary to understand not only who the stakeholders are, but their attributes (influence, power, legitimacy and urgency) and also the institutional logics which all influence stakeholder salience. The dominant stakeholders are therefore those which have power, exert influence and have high salience. These ideas are explored in the case study of the WBR in chapter six as understanding power and where it comes from is a central to the this work. Stakeholder engagement in the development process and sustainability are also linked, with the former being part of the potential solutions to the latter. It could therefore be argued that stakeholders are watchdogs and guardians of what is presumed to be in the public interest (Collins Kearins and Roper, 2005), although this is dependent on yet another variable, namely the role of the stakeholder in the development process. The extent to which sustainable development occurs is therefore dependent on these variables and this will be discussed further in chapter six.

All the techniques identified above: stakeholder identification and mapping; influence; power/interest and saliency are used in the case study stakeholder analysis chapters. The objectives are not to undertake a full stakeholder analysis of all tourism stakeholders in the WBR, but to investigate those who are active in STD in the WBR and what they say about development, SD and tourism development and why they say the things they do. More details on the methods chosen for the stakeholder analysis are given in the methodology chapter (chapter five). Table 3.2 shows which aspects of stakeholder analysis are used in this case study.

Stakeholder Analysis Method	Area of Analysis	Case-study Output In Chapters 7 onwards
Stakeholder Identification and Mapping	Active engagement Initial 'comprehensive analysis' Subsequent selective analysis Active/Passive	Stakeholder interviews List of stakeholders – international to local List of active stakeholders Active roles in STD
Stakeholder Analysis	Influence Power/Interest Saliency	Influence Map Power/interest matrix Saliency identification (latent, expectant, definitive)
Critical Discourse Analysis of Stakeholder Discourses	Knowledge Ideology Power	SD/STD/Biosphere Active stakeholder ideologies Power in STD in WBR

Table 3.3: Stakeholder analysis: method and outputs

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the macro theme of tourism as a development option showing that tourism has numerous advantages and disadvantages. Tourism was initially seen as part of the modernisation programme through its potential as an economic development tool. Critiques emerged which questioned the extent of these economic benefits to destinations, critiques that centred on core-periphery relationships and dependency theory. However, the industry continued unabated under the banner of neoliberalism and while STD has emerged as a response to these critiques, the industry is far from a sustainable one, nor does it align with the principles of SD. The tourism development process involves notions of power and different stakeholders not only see tourism development from a variety of perspectives, they do so from differing power perspectives. Therefore, various stakeholders play a part in determining STD outcomes. Stakeholder analysis can help to more clearly understand the tourism development process, therefore this chapter has explored techniques to carry this out. These techniques also incorporate notions of influence, power and they are used to carry out an

analysis of the active stakeholders in the WBR in chapter six. The following chapter investigates the micro place-based context of this case-study.

Chapter 4- Contextual Analysis – Micro Level – South Africa and Waterberg Biosphere Reserve Case-Study

4.1 Introduction

This case-study of the WBR seeks to uncover the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable development in the area through an examination of active stakeholder discourses. The study considers both the macro and micro environments in which active stakeholder discourses operate. This is to build up a picture relating to the first objective of this work which is to examine the issues which surround tourism development and its contribution to sustainable development. The macro level context was examined in chapters two and three and now this chapter examines the micro level context focusing on the specifics of the actual case-study, namely South Africa, Limpopo Province, the Waterberg District, biospheres and the WBR. This micro level contextual analysis sets the scene for the stakeholder analysis in chapter six and the discourse analysis in chapters seven and eight.

4.2 Regional Context - Limpopo Province

Limpopo Province is the most northern province in South Africa, the capital of which is Polokwane. Politically, the region is split into three levels of public administration – provincial, district and municipality, all being under the control of the African National Congress (ANC). Within Limpopo Province there are five municipal districts and twenty six subdivisions of local municipalities. This case-study focuses on the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve which is situated in the Waterberg District, which is split into six municipalities. The region has low population density as it is predominantly rural in nature. The last census was in 2011 – the following are some of the main findings from this census relating to Limpopo Province:

- Population - 5.4 million
- Black African population - 5.2 million
- White population - 140,000
- Percentage under 40 years old - 70%

- Number with no formal schooling - 500,000
- Percentage age 20+ with no schooling – 17%
- Unemployment rate – 49%
- Percentage with no toilet – 7%
- Percentage using wood for heating – 40%

(Statistics South Africa, 2012).

Limpopo Province has a number of important industries, of which mining is the largest, contributing around a quarter of the economic output. Tourism accounted for over 8% of economic output in 2008, although it is a growth industry (LEDET, 2009). The legacy of apartheid has left numerous challenges in South Africa, particularly in provinces such as Limpopo which are predominantly rural. The following challenges have been identified by Limpopo Provincial government in their 15 year post-apartheid review.

- Economic – high unemployment, poverty, lack of opportunity, lack of sectoral communication, HIV infection rate of 22%
- Land-use – access, tenure, restitution, administration
- Infrastructure – a) Water – scarcity and provision, sanitation, service maintenance, losses; b) Waste – unlicensed landfill sites, illegal dumping, recycling; c) Electricity – capacity, ageing infrastructure, illegal connections; d) Roads and Transport – road degradation, upgrading, poor public transport
- Education and Training – poorly skilled labour force, training opportunities, low skill base.
- Biodiversity – habitat destruction, pollution, urban development, habitat management, alien species invasion.
- Tourism – white controlled, lack of SME opportunities, lack of community involvement in value chain.
- Regional and Local Government – capacity, skills, poor systems, debt, high staff turnover, staff commitment, poor monitoring and auditing procedures, lack of finance and financial management.

(Limpopo Provincial Government, 2009)

The problems in Limpopo highlighted above are not unique to the province and are typical of many rural areas in Southern Africa. While South Africa has a young population compared to European countries (Statistics South Africa, 2010), many of the problems relate to or significantly affect the youth and the young. Rural areas such as Limpopo have high youth unemployment, there is a severe shortage of skills in the labour force and HIV/AIDS affects many households and their ability to contribute economically (ibid). These problems are all prevalent in the Waterberg region of Limpopo, which is the focus of this study.

At the provincial level, Limpopo Province has been found to be the most corrupt province due to corruption regarding government tenders involving over 270m Rand (Auditor General of South Africa, 2011). Within the area covered by this case study, there have also been corruption and maladministration issues at the local level. In Mogalakwena municipality, the former mayor resigned from her post due to alleged maladministration within the municipality (The Beat, 2012). Corruption affects sustainability outcomes through diverting funds away from public projects and with Limpopo being the most corrupt province there are concerns that socio-economic issues may not be addressed as best they could. Money may also be diverted away from socio-economic or environmental projects, thus affecting all three pillars of SD.

4.3 Local Context - The Waterberg Region

The Waterberg region was introduced in chapter one and this section expands on that introduction. The Waterberg District is a political entity that covers six local municipalities and sits on the western part of Limpopo province. The Waterberg's topography can be described as an 'inverted saucer' stretching from Modimolle and Mokopane in the east to Lephalale and Thabazimbi in the west. The core of the region is a plateau which is dissected by a number of rivers, the main rocks are ancient conglomerates and sandstones. The plateau has always and continues to be sparsely populated,

Vaalwater being the only town. There are mineral deposits of iron ore, coal and platinum beyond the periphery of the plateau, however the plateau is devoid of any major mineral deposits. The region is biologically, archaeologically and culturally diverse. There are numerous rare and endangered carnivore species including wild dog, brown hyena, honey badger, and servals to name but a few. The 'big five', of elephant, lion, buffalo, rhinoceros and leopard can be found on a number of game reserves along with a number of varieties of buck, zebra and giraffe. There are over two thousand plant species, four hundred bird species, and a rich diversity of butterflies, insects and reptiles in the region. Archaeological heritage ranges from San rock art to settlements dating from the eleventh century (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013). The diverse flora, fauna and the topography are the main drivers for tourism in the district.

Land-use in the Waterberg

There have been a number of changes to land-use in the region in the 1990s when there was a shift in commodity prices, particularly in tobacco resulting in a conversion of land-use from agriculture to game farms for consumptive or non- consumptive nature-based tourism. Although the game industry has been in the district for a long time, since the early to mid 1990s there has been acceleration in the process of converting conventional cattle and crop farmland into game farms and private game reserves (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011). While land-use figures are not available for the early 1990s, the latest figures show that game farms account for nearly 80% of current land with agriculture around 17% (see table 6.1 below).

Land Use Category	Total Area (ha)	%
Livestock & Crop Farmland	79 704	16.5
Mixed Livestock & Game Farms	21 635	4.5
Game Farms & Private Game Reserves	381 095	79.0
Total	482 434	100

Table 4.1: Land-use of private commercial land in Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011, p155)

There are some major landowners in the WBR, Game Reserve 1 and 2 own 35,000 and 36,000 hectares respectively. The majority of game farms however are relatively small, with over 60% being under 5000 ha (ibid). This relates to how landowners are powerful in one aspect of sustainability in the region, namely, their ability to affect the opening up of larger contiguous areas of land. Employment levels in agriculture and tourism are estimated to be at similar levels, employing just over 2000 people, although tourism related jobs are generally more highly skilled and remunerated. The population is around 100,000 in the WBR, therefore employment in both these sectors combined with the limited number of service sector jobs in Vaalwater, are inadequate to support the workforce of the Leseding Township, let alone the other rural settlements in the Waterberg (ibid).

4.4 Tourism in Limpopo and the Waterberg

The WBR is situated in the Waterberg District of Limpopo Province. Responsibility for tourism predominantly falls under the provincial government. In Limpopo the responsible department is: Limpopo Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET). This department has four core programmes related to service delivery. These include: Environmental Affairs and Tourism; Integrated Economic Development Services; Trade and Industry Development and Business Regulations and Governance. Their strategic objectives include: job creation within a sustainable environment, growing a preferred eco-tourism destination, sustainable environmental management, increase in productive investment and thriving enterprises in all sectors (LEDET, 2013).

Incorporated within LEDET are the Limpopo Tourism and Parks Board (LTP) whose outward facing designation is GoLimpopo. They were established in 2001 to develop and manage provincial nature reserves as well as to promote Limpopo as a preferred tourist destination (Limpopo Tourism and Parks, 2013). At the municipality and district levels of government, the responsibility for tourism development falls under land-use planning, the development of spatial development frameworks (SDFs) and implementation of planning law, thus controlling development. Tourism has been at the core of Limpopo

Provincial government's development strategy along with mining and agriculture, primarily for its economic sectoral linkages and tourist spend (LEDET, 2005, 2013). LEDET see their role as one of facilitating the private sector growth in the industry through the rehabilitation of degraded landscapes, education and skills development, infrastructure development and destination marketing (LEDET, 2005). In essence, this is a hands-off approach to the industry from government, fitting with the neoliberal stance of national government. Tourism is a growing industry in Limpopo as table 4.2 shows. The figures show an increase in foreign tourism to Limpopo Province with international spend up by nearly 150% from 2004 to 2011 and a similar increase in international bednights. As the region has grown in popularity its overall increase in both international and domestic market share in South Africa has increased to around 13% for both markets. Foreign spend is significantly greater than domestic spend in the province (South Africa Tourism, 2011).

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
% Share of Foreign Tourists	5.7%	7.0%	7.7%	8.2%	10.1%	12.8%	13%	12.1%
Foreign Spend Rbn	1.5Rbn	2.4Rbn	2.9Rbn	2.6Rbn	3.4Rbn	4.2Rbn	3.5Rbn	3.7Rbn
No. of Foreign Bednights (million)	1.6m	2.4m	2.9m	3.0m	3.4m	3.8m	3.2m	3.4m
% Share of Domestic Tourism	5.0%	6.0%	6.0%	8.0%	7.0%	6.9%	10%	13%
Domestic Spend Rbn	1.6Rbn	1.2Rbn	1.6Rbn	1.6Rbn	2.2Rbn	1.2Rbn	1.7Rbn	*
Domestic Trips	*	3.1m	4.0m	2.7m	2.4m	1.0m	2.9m	3.3M

* Figures not available

Table 4.2: Limpopo Province international and domestic tourism statistics 2004 – 2011 Source: (South African Tourism 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011)

This change in land-use has meant the proliferation of private game farms throughout South Africa generally and in Limpopo and the Waterberg specifically. The reasons for this are numerous and include: struggling farmers with no alternative but to diversify; wealthy metropolitan-based business people who have bought up farms for use as private game reserves and large conglomerates backed by big business who wish to invest in green activities such as wildlife conservation. The commercially-oriented lifestyle property is also evident, whereby wealthy individuals buy a plot on a larger reserve either to live, develop as a small lodge, or both. To affect the change in land-use, lodges need to be built, appropriate fencing erected and game introduced, all affecting the physical landscape (Brooks et al, 2011). The wealthy individuals do not necessarily to make a living from their wildlife properties, they can even sustain on-going operational losses in the knowledge that they have made a good return on the property/land investment in the medium to long term. Many of these 'new owners' reserve the property for personal use only, while others establish some limited nature-based tourism or hunting facilities in order to offset running costs. It is estimated that around forty per cent of properties are for private use only, covering sixteen per cent of the total game farm area in the WBR (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011). In a review of commercial wildlife developments in South Africa, Bond (2004) finds that it has played a major part in conservation and the commercial sector is a powerful force in the process of managing and conserving wildlife and wildlife habitat in the region. This is because the growth has resulted in a desire to search for land use that creates the most economic growth with the least environmental damage. However he also finds that conservation is more to do with land than species and that land reform is a major issue in the country as new landowners often lack resources and knowledge to manage land. The value of wildlife lies in recreation and in adding value to the production system. It also requires numerous skills in hospitality, guiding, management, institutional development, negotiation, all of which are highly specialised, but in South Africa generally approached in amateur way except from the larger corporations (ibid).

There has also been an increase in second and retirement home tourism in the Waterberg region. These properties are generally for weekend or holiday use and range from up-market properties in 'big five' reserves such as Game Reserve 1 to small plots of land (around one hectare) which have been subdivided into on average, ninety plots (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011). In a review of second home developments in South Africa, Hoogendoorn, Mellett and Visser (2005) find that owners are generally white, wealthy professionals from Gauteng. They do upgrade their properties, but this form of tourism offers limited local employment opportunities, they do little for social cohesion, land price inflation occurs and a fragmented ownership system causes ecosystem disturbance

When land is transferred from agricultural to tourism use, the resident farm labourers are often spatially moved to marginal areas of the farms to keep them away from the tourists. Many end up leaving as they become tired of waiting for employment opportunities in tourism, something skills-wise they are ill-equipped for (Brooks, Spierenburg and Wels, 2012). They argue that while many private game farms do have CSR sections on their websites to appeal to the socially/environmentally aware tourist, it is the environmental concerns, not the social which are given prominence both on the website and in their actions. This results in the environmental aspects of tourism being given prominence over the economic and social.

4.5 The South African Context

The legacy of apartheid is still very much evident in South Africa and it is still a very unequal country with elements of both the developed and developing world. The concept of development with respect to South Africa is introduced in chapter two and this section builds on these themes examining the key issues which are faced in South Africa regarding this case-study.

4.5.1 Societal Concerns

With the fall of apartheid and under the initial leadership of Mandela there was a process of reconciliation that was necessary for a smooth transition to a

democracy. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) was a part of this process and although it did uncover a number of truths about what happened under white minority rule, Mangcu (2003) argues there was little reconciliation. While the discourse from Mandela was reconciliatory, that from Mbeki, the next president, shifted toward a new black radicalism. In his State of the Nation address in 2002 he stated that "...to this day and unavoidably, the racial divisions, inequalities and prejudices of the past continue to characterise our society" (ibid, p109).

Archbishop Desmond Tutu described South Africa as the Rainbow Nation and it is still a melting pot of cultures, races and religions. To this day, South African society is still racially divided, although other social groupings are also relevant such as gender, ethnicity and language (Cilliers and Smit, 2006). That the South African government still constructs society along racial lines is a reflection that the state, or the ruling classes have the paradigmatic prerogative of setting the template on which social identities, including racial identities, are based (Alexander, 2007). This involves notions of power and has implications for policy and policy outcomes.

The inequalities in South Africa are also exemplified by rural livelihoods in South Africa which are marked by enduring racial and spatial legacies of poverty (Neves and du Toit, 2013). The rural poor's livelihoods since the apartheid days have been characterised by oscillatory migration to distant urban cities and intertwined with the economies in urban areas. Informal labour in rural areas is a key source of income as formal labour is limited. This, argue Neves and du Toit (2013) is due to the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, which inhibit African entrepreneurship, credit, information and skills deficits, and also limited infrastructure development. It is black African women who suffer the most from the legacy of apartheid argues Kehler (2001) She argues that these women in South Africa, and particularly those in rural areas, have limited access to resources, education and opportunities and generally live in poverty.

South Africa is still one of the most unequal societies in the world. The United Nations report that the Human Development Index for the country ranks them as 110th out of 179 countries (UNDP, 2011), with access to employment, education, land, housing, health services still predominantly divided along the lines of race. South Africa still bears the scars of apartheid and while socio-economic change is occurring it is often done so in the context of colonialism and apartheid. As Booysen (2007) argues, societal changes are predominantly dictated by or bound within racial categories due to the polarisation of South African society.

4.5.2 Local Government

Following the end of apartheid, local government was seen as an integral part of the RDP to act as the main delivery agent for improvements in housing, health care, and infrastructural development. This was to provide a catalyst for economic growth, stimulating demand and increasing employment opportunities (ANC, 1994). Apartheid left a public service with a myriad of problems: it being unrepresentative; senior management being dominated by white male civil servants; low levels of service delivery; centralised control; and top-down management that lacked accountability and transparency; poor financial control systems and poorly paid and demotivated staff (Pycroft, 1996).

Embedded in the RDP was the process of affirmative action, which is still ongoing today. This process is designed to redistribute economic, social, cultural and political power and resources to those disadvantaged under apartheid. The effects of affirmative action have been mixed, especially the performance of employees in the public sector (Sing, 2011). In a report on the effectiveness of affirmative action, Burger and Jafta (2010) attest that the effects of race and gender on labour market outcomes are not disappearing and that affirmative action helps those from those higher up on the skills ladder. The Auditor General of South Africa (2011) also called on the government to start to appoint experienced officials who have the requisite skills to do the job rather than on pure affirmative action. Initially there were numerous problems in the post-apartheid transition period in provincial and local government.

These include a lack of experience and skills among elected councilors, inadequate mechanisms for effective consultation with and feedback to constituents, lack of financial resources, fragile decision-making powers and a lack of accountability procedures (Manor, 2001). A decade after apartheid ended Naidoo (2009) synthesised the various research on service delivery, concluding that nearly half of South Africa's communities did not receive adequate delivery of public services.

Since 2004, protests at the grassroots level have emerged reflecting disappointment with democracy, lack of redistribution of wealth and rising unemployment levels. Voting has not brought about the required changes for many as self-seeking representatives end up being elected. Neoliberal policies of the privatisation of local services have opened up new opportunities for private accumulation by councillors (Alexander, 2010). The leadership and management style in the public sector has been imported from the West and does not take into account local context and narratives argue Naidoo and Xollie (2011). Leadership and management development initiatives also follow the dominant international approaches in their relative disciplines and that many public service leaders do not work for the common good of the society as there is a lack of accountability and an inability to provide the services that citizens expect from an effective state. Politicians tend to be pro economic development at the expense of environmental concerns (Auditor General of South Africa, 2011). This relates to how Friedland and Alford (1991) see the influence of the West on institutional logics mentioned in chapter three. They assert that while logics are often hierarchical and various organisations, industries and sectors may have their own logics, they are nested within the "central institutions of the contemporary capitalist West" (Friedland and Alford 1991, p. 232).

4.5.3 Corruption

Linked to governmental concerns is corruption. This is a major issue in South Africa affecting use of public funds, service delivery and the perception of public sector jobs. According to the corruption perception index (CPI) published by Transparency International (2012), South Africa was ranked 69th

among 178 countries, and fifth among sub-Saharan African countries in terms of the most corrupt countries in the world. The private sector is involved in this corruption on the supply side where corporations resort to bribery and other corrupt activities to acquire lucrative contracts or other concessions from public sector representatives (Roxas, Chadee and Erwee, 2012). This practice is quite prevalent and engrained in the contracting process in South Africa (Keightley, 2011). The press in South Africa regularly comment on corruption, one editorial from Vuyiseka Dubula, the chairperson of Corruption Watch sums up much of what the press has been stating over the last few years. He argues that it has become endemic in South African society, it diverts resources away from the vulnerable and the marginalised, undermines the whole political and economic system and national government is either unwilling or unable to address it effectively.

4.5.4 Land-use Planning

How land is planned and managed is an integral part of a sustainable approach to development. Integrated Development Planning (IDP) in South Africa was seen as the main tool to assist their development mandates to provide sustainable growth and equity and to empower the poor (Nel and Rogerson, 2005). This was to be implemented at local level and as was shown above, the neoliberal, market-oriented policies adopted by government did little to benefit the majority in South Africa nor did they address the fundamental weaknesses of local government. IDP should incorporate detailed land-use planning, responsibility for which falls at the local level albeit with various obligations for consultation and compliance with provincial and national legislation.

Land-use decisions are taken by locally elected councillors, and should be based on a comprehensive technical assessment conducted by land-use planning officials employed by the local municipality. Municipalities are required to produce an 'Integrated Development Plan', complemented by a technically informed 'Spatial Development Framework'. These SDFs are one of the key sources of information used by land-use planners for preparing the decision proposal for council deliberation. There is also strong environmental

legislation in South Africa to help local government make decisions regarding environmental sustainability (Wilhelm-Rechmann and Cowling, 2013). While having legislation is a step in the right direction for SD, implementation is critical and this has been problematic in South Africa. This is due to some of the weaknesses in local government mentioned above regarding a lack of human and financial resources. It is also due to the planning system being dysfunctional, conservation officers not being included in the SDF process, enforcement of illegal developments and illegal land-use change non-existent and planners not having appropriate tools. Councilors are generally pro-development, are not generally supportive of conservation and often side-step planning processes (ibid). Strong governance from the state is required argue Büscher and Dressler (2012). They also argue that under neoliberal ideologies, the power of non-state actors such as the private sector and NGOs drives conservation from market-based interests which often ignore and even abuse local sensibilities, with government effectively marginalised from the process.

4.4.5 Land Claims and Land Ownership

Referring to South Africa: “Land is and emotional thing” states Walker (2008, p25) especially regarding land ownership and land reform. Since the interim Constitution of 1993, land reform has been a pivotal aspect of the South African government’s policy on redressing the legacy of apartheid. The 1994 Restitution of Land Rights Act was the first piece of substantive, transformational legislation of the newly elected government. This was designed to rectify the land conquest of the white population which started after European colonisation in 1652 and was institutionalised by apartheid, resulting in 3.5 million people being forcibly removed from their homes to the Bantustan homelands (ibid). Turner (2006) highlights how newly-elected government established a three pronged land reform process of land restitution, land redistribution, and tenure reform. The government’s policy sought to accomplish this reform through negotiation, using a willing buyer-willing seller approach. This process has been well documented, particularly the associated problems (Hall, 2004; Sender and Johnston, 2004; James

2007; Fraser 2007; O’Laughlin et al 2013). The following is a summary of these problems:

- Slow rate of claim settlement.
 - Institutional and bureaucratic failure.
 - Legislation can be unpredictable, ambiguous, and contradictory.
 - Poor design and resourcing of Land Claims Committee.
 - In-fighting and lack of leadership within national governments.
 - Differences between symbolic importance of land politically at national level and low-levels of commitment the state demonstrated in practice.
 - Outcome falling well short of political and population expectations.
 - Exclusion and marginality of poor not addressed, especially in rural areas.
 - Capitalist, neoliberal relations of production emphasised.
- (Hall, 2004, Walker, 2008; Brooks et al, 2011)

Once settled, what happens to land and the claimants is also of importance if socio-economic advancement is to occur for claimants. In the rural context Walker (2008) highlights the fact that large tracts of restored land have been taken out of commercial/productive or in cases where co-management rights with previous owners have occurred in tourism ventures, these have begun to falter. This is due to lack of financial and logistical support, capacity building and the post-restitution process not being adequately thought through.

4.5 UNESCO Biosphere Reserves

As this research has a spatial element in examining the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, it is necessary to examine and discuss the concept of biospheres. This section examines how biospheres came about and their main characteristics. The WBR is then examined, looking at its formation, what has happened and when since inception focusing on the main issues and challenges in managing the reserve.

4.5.1 The Concept of Biosphere Reserves

The concept of biosphere reserves was initiated by the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere (MaB) programme in 1974. The first biospheres were inaugurated in 1976 and by September 2012 there were 610 sites in 117 countries (UNESCO, 2013). In 1995, the Seville Strategy was adopted by UNESCO which was a statutory framework which paved the way for future biosphere reserve developments (UNESCO, 2002). Biospheres are one way of the UN putting SD into practice. The Madrid Action Plan (MAP) of 2008 builds on the Seville Strategy, examining how biospheres can effectively respond to and help to address global issues and problems which have emerged or intensified since 1995. According to UNESCO (2008) these major challenges further exacerbate poverty and inequality and include: accelerated climate change; accelerated loss of biological and cultural diversity and rapid urbanization which has major effects on environmental change.

“Biospheres are therefore a key component in MaB’s objective, which is to achieve a sustainable balance between the sometimes conflicting goals of conserving biological diversity, promoting economic development and maintaining associated cultural values. Biosphere reserves are sites where this objective is tested, refined, demonstrated and implemented. The emphasis is on humans as an integral and fundamental part of nature; on integrated approaches to the study, assessment and management of large-scale ecological systems; and on development of a continuum of scientific and educational actions to underpin resource management.”
(UNESCO, 2002, p1)

Biosphere reserves are therefore more than protected areas such as national parks, which tend to have an over-riding protection/conservation ethos. They have broader remits pertaining to the three core functions of conservation, development and logistical support. The conservation function is to stipulate genetic resources, species, ecosystems and landscapes. The development function is to promote sustainable economic and human development and the logistical support function is to assist demonstration projects, environmental education and training, and monitoring and research (ibid). Zoning is integral to how biospheres are managed. There are three main zones within biospheres— core, buffer and transition. Core zones consist of securely

protected sites for conserving biological diversity, monitoring minimally disturbed ecosystems, and undertaking research and other uses which are non-destructive and low in impact. Buffer zones, usually surround the core areas, are used for co-operative activities and compatible with sound ecological practices. Transition zones may contain a variety of activities and settlements in which local communities, management agencies, scientists, NGOs, cultural groups, economic interests and other stakeholders work together to manage and sustainably develop the area's resources (ibid)

Other fundamental characteristics of biosphere reserves include:

- Focusing on a multi-stakeholder approach with particular emphasis on the involvement of local communities in management.
- Fostering discussion to reduce conflict with natural resource use.
- Integrating cultural and biological diversity, especially the role of traditional knowledge in ecosystem management.
- Demonstrating sound sustainable development practices and policies based on research and monitoring.
- Acting as sites of excellence for education and training.
- Participating in the UNESCO World Network.

(UNESCO, 2011)

Biosphere reserves need to consider the broader regional setting as they are part of the regional landscape and are exposed to many of the same disruptions, pressures and capricious management affecting that particular area. Therefore if biospheres can influence or exert some control over the reserve's surroundings then the likelihood of sustainable development within the biosphere can be enhanced (UNESCO, 2002).

4.5.2 The Waterberg Biosphere Reserve

This section examines the background to the WBR, how it was created, its objectives, management, key stakeholders and the issues it has faced since its creation in 2001. The section above on land-use in the Waterberg examines the shift in land-use away from agriculture into the tourism sector.

This has resulted in increases in both consumptive (hunting) and non-consumptive (game viewing) forms of tourism. There is a growing conservation community that is involved in the sustainable utilisation of wildlife, both from the consumptive and non-consumptive perspectives (Waterberg District Municipality, 2010). The Waterberg's tourism model is therefore built on the restoration of the natural environment from agricultural use and also wilderness areas which have been left untouched. The natural environment is unique and it is this uniqueness which was fundamental to the creation of the biosphere reserve, the concept of which is examined below.

In 1996, the process for the creation of the WBR commenced through one of the main land-owning stakeholders in the area, the Waterberg Nature Conservancy (WNC). The WNC was formed in 1989 as a voluntary association of landowners with an interest in conservation. By May 2012, membership was 67 members, employing over 1000, with properties totaling nearly 170,000 hectares. Their main aims are to:

- To promote, conserve and protect the fauna, flora and wilderness areas, historical sites, river systems and natural heritage sites within the Waterberg.
- To promote the awareness of environmental issues by way of education, research, sustainable utilisation and tourism.
- To promote the upliftment, education and needs of the people living and employed in Vaalwater and the greater Waterberg area.

(Waterberg Nature Conservancy, 2012)

Other stakeholders were brought into the biosphere process including local and provincial political leaders, private landowners, the tourism sector, traditional leaders and representatives from rural communities, government department officials and non-governmental organizations (Baber, de Klerk and Walker, 2003). The Waterberg was identified as suitable for the creation of a biosphere reserve due to its unique biodiversity and cultural diversity, its population dynamics, the organised private and community structures that

were in place, the land-use profile and size of the area and the eagerness of the local people to participate in the creation of the reserve (de Klerk, 2003).

The necessary research and documentation was prepared for UNESCO and in March 2001, the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve was officially created and registered. The vision and mission of the WBR are to:

“Maximise this unique area’s considerable potential for not only conservation, sustainable development and social upliftment, but also research and education”

“Build a conservation and sustainable-use ethic, which can then be effectively monitored; to promote appropriate and sustainable development; to actively spread benefits and opportunities to poorer members of the community; and to facilitate relevant research, education and skills training in the area.”

(Baber de Klerk and Walker, 2003, p287)

The size of the initial reserve is 417,406 hectares, comprising of a core area of 121,249 hectares, a buffer zone of 146,157 hectares and a transition zone of around 150,000 hectares (ibid). The WBR sits within the Waterberg District Municipality and spreads across the six local municipalities of Magalakwena, Modimolle, Lephalale, Bela-Bela, Mookgopong, and Thabazimbi. The main attributes of the WBR include the following:

- Topography – Waterberg mountain range forming a large plateau with steep escarpments.
- Vegetation – predominantly savanna of various types.
- River systems and wetlands – four main drainage rivers are present in the Waterberg: the Lephalala; Mokolo; Matlabas; and the Mogalakwena. These together with numerous smaller rivers and streams make up the main water catchment area for Limpopo. There are also floodplains and wetlands which perform vital roles in the area such as water storage, stream flow regulation, water purification and habitat provision.

(de Klerk, 2003)

- Geology – sedimentary rock is the main geological form in the Waterberg consisting of sandstones, mudstones, shales, conglomerates and grits. The rock formations were formed around 1.8 billion years ago and have gone through little change since then. (Taylor, Holt-Biddle and Walker, 2003)
- Human populations – there is evidence that the Waterberg has been populated for millions of years, with remains of early hominoids been found. The first Bushmen are thought to have inhabited the region between 150,000 to 30,000 years ago. There are numerous rock art paintings in the region dating back from 400 AD and relate to three different settlers: Bushmen; Khoi and Bantu speakers. The early iron-age settlers remained in the region from around 450 to 900 AD. During the Little-Ice-Age between 1300 and 1800 the region was settled by the Sotho/Tswans speakers from east Africa bringing with them dry-stone walling as did the Nguni settlers who came to the area between 1550 and 1800.
- Due to its remoteness, the Waterberg was not settled until relatively late by the white settlers and by the early 1900s, the white population was put at under 200 (ibid), although this did increase steadily through the century as more white farmers settled in the area.
- Populations today – the main large 'local' community is in the only major town in the WBR, Vaalwater. The Bakenberg community also lives in the east of the Waterberg and is ancestors of the Nguni. A number of white expatriates have been moving into the WBR as landowners since the early 21st century. (ibid).

In summary, the WBR includes a number of unique features, including:

- A large, contiguous environment of around 10,000 sq. km. with a wilderness quality, in close proximity to South Africa's economic heartland of Gauteng.

- A lack of any significant mining, industries or forestry, allowing for the natural environment of the area to remain largely intact.
- Historically, there has been a low population density, but one rich in cultural assets. There is only one town in the area - Vaalwater, one hamlet (Alma) and some 30 rural settlements on the periphery.
- A diverse archaeological heritage.
- The Waterberg region having a critically important water catchment area in a largely water scarce Province.
- Around eighty per cent of the area is already under conservation management or is operating as game farms.

(Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011)

The WBR is one of six biosphere reserves in South Africa and is only one of two savanna biospheres in the world, the other being in Tanzania (UNESCO, 2013). It is managed by a stakeholder forum, with input from the private sector, local, district and provincial governments and also civil society.

Zoning

The initial zoning within the WBR was according to UNESCO'S criteria. There were five core areas – Marakele National Park, Wonderkop and Mokolo Dam provincial nature reserves, Masebe communal owned nature reserve and the Moepel farms (state owned land set aside for conservation). Land-use within the core areas focused on nature-based tourism activities. The buffer zone included the land owned by the 28 private landowners from the WNC with land-use predominantly focusing on game-farming, hunting and conservation. The outer transition area included the remaining land, activities on which included, game and cattle farming, hunting, other tourism activities such as holiday resorts, hotels and larger organisations providing conference facilities, irrigation farms and Vaalwater town and other rural villages (de Klerk, 2003). While this initial zoning was carried out in accordance with UNESCO's mandate, there was a lack of detailed information on topography and land-use. Provincial, district and local government did not have adequate spatial development frameworks. The Waterberg Reserve Management Committee

(WBRMC) maintained that to facilitate UNESCO's mandate, there was a critical need for an officially endorsed plan for the WBR. This could serve not only to inform local and district spatial development frameworks, but also provide clear guidelines for development, as well as a more scientifically and environmentally logical zoning of the reserve. (Baber, 2008)

Management and Stakeholder Participation

One of the principle objectives of biospheres is to have a multi-stakeholder approach to management, with particular emphasis on the involvement of local communities. The WBRMC has a chair, deputy chair, five further directors and a programme coordinator. There is a management committee and five sub-management committees which are:

- Finance, fundraising, marketing and tourism – chair is also WBRMC chair.
- Education and training – no current chair.
- Socio-economic development – chair is also WBRMC deputy chair.
- Environmental conservation, heritage conservation and development planning – no current chair.
- Research and monitoring - chair is CEO of Welgevonden Game Reserve.

Since its formation in 2001, a number of core projects and issues have emerged and been undertaken, a summary of which is given below.

- Facilitating participation of stakeholders within the management committee.
- Participation in spatial planning and the development of an environmental management plan for the Reserve.
- Liaison with local and district municipalities with respect to the Reserve's position within their Land-Use Management Plans, Spatial Development Frameworks and Integrated Development Plans.
- Training and skills transfer, particularly to land claimants to enable them to succeed in their new role as landowners within the reserve.

- Developing a greater appreciation of the Biosphere and its role amongst stakeholder groups.
 - Participating in Environmental Impact Assessment and Development Facilitation Act processes where appropriate.
 - Participating in the MaB program within the province and nationally.
- (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013)

The WBR has a stakeholder forum comprising a number of stakeholders who each have a number of voting rights and who elect the directors of the not-for-profit organisation. The stakeholder groups on this forum include the public sector (National Parks Board, provincial, district government and local government, South African Police Service), the private sector (Members of the Waterberg Nature Conservancy, Development Bank of South Africa) and civil society and community groups (Bakenberg Tribal Authority, Waterberg Welfare Society, Land Claimants Committee, Clive Walker Foundation) (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013). There are however numerous other stakeholders for the WBR. Table 4.3 below is a stakeholder mapping exercise. One of the first stages in identifying active stakeholders in STD in the WBR was to undertake a comprehensive stakeholder analysis. Within the WBR there are numerous stakeholders that influence and are influenced by tourism development and who undergo either formal or informal social exchange. These stakeholders exist at various levels ranging from the international through UNESCO's MaB programme, at national level, for example through the Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT), regional, exemplified by Provincial government and at the local level where numerous public, private and civil society organisations exist along with local communities. Chapter six continues the stakeholder analysis focusing on those actually interviewed.

The list of stakeholders has been comprised from a number of sources, including the WBR website (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013), The WBR Situational Analysis for the Management Plan (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011), personal communications with the WBR UNESCO representative, Waterberg

Nature Conservancy members and other resident community members. While mapping is comprehensive in that it recognises the majority of the stakeholders in the WBR, it is also acknowledged that there are other public, private and not-for-profit/civil society sector organisations along with community residents who could be added to the list, although they are peripheral to tourism development in the WBR. The stakeholders mentioned in table 4.3 share a common interest or stake in tourism to some extent in the WBR and either formally or informally engage in or are affected by the planning, management and/or operation of the WBR.

Level of Involvement	Stakeholder Group or Organisation	Sector
1. International	UNESCO European Union Wilderness Trust of Southern Africa	Not-for-profit/civil society (cs) Public Not-for-profit/cs
2. National	South African Government, particularly: - Department of Environment & Tourism - Department of Higher Education & Training - Department of Agriculture - Department of Water Affairs Land Claims Committee SanParks, National Parks Board Agricultural Union Transvaal Agricultural Union South African Universities (Particularly Universities of Venda and Pretoria) DBSA (Development Bank of Southern Africa)	Public Public Not-for-profit/cs Not-for-profit/cs Private
3. Regional	Polokwane Provincial Government - Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET). Department of Agriculture Department of Education Limpopo Parks & Tourism Board	Public Public Public Public

4. Local	Waterberg Biosphere Reserve Management Committee	Not-for-profit/cs
	Waterberg District Municipality	Public
	Other Municipalities which have jurisdiction in the WBR - Thabazimbi, Modimolle, Mogalakwena & Lephalale local municipalities.	Public
	Marakele National Park	Public
	Moepel Farms	Not-for-profit/cs
	Clive Walker Foundation	Not-for-profit/cs
	The Matabane community	Not-for-profit/cs
	Lapalala Wilderness School	Not-for-profit/cs
	Waterberg Nature Conservancy (WNC)	Not-for-profit/cs
	Farmer representative bodies,	Not-for-profit/cs
	Bakenberg Tribal Authority,	Not-for-profit/cs
	Land Claims Committees	Not-for-profit/cs
	Lephalale CTA	Not-for-profit/cs
	Telekishi Community Tourism Project (TCTP)	Not-for-profit/cs
	The Waterberg Academy & other educational institutions	Not-for-profit/cs
	Traditional leaders	Not-for-profit/cs
	South African Police Service (SAPS – local representation)	Public
	Khutso Foundation (Environmental Consultancy)	Not-for-profit/cs
	Rural community representatives	Not-for-profit/cs
	Waterberg Institute of Sociology and Ecology & (WISE)	Not-for-profit/cs
	Waterberg Welfare Society (WWS)	Not-for-profit/cs
	Other NGOs/Charities (e.g. Komotsogo Crafts)	Not-for-profit/cs
	Business Community	Private
	Private Game Farms incorporated in the Biosphere	Private
	Educational Establishments	Public/Private

Table 4.3: Stakeholders in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve

Communicating with and to stakeholder groups is one of the functions of the WBRMC. Within the WBR some communication tools have been developed, such as the WBR website www.waterbergbiosphere.org which includes detailed maps of the reserve, information on biodiversity, conservation, events

and management. Other communication tools include a brochure and newsletter and an educational package used in the 120 schools in the area. Stakeholder workshops are held regularly throughout the year and an Annual General Meeting (AGM) is also held, usually in August (ibid). The WBR has a number of projects which it has been involved with to help deliver its mandate. These are outlined below.

WBR Projects – 1) The Waterberg Meander

Meanders are tourist routes designed to guide visitors around a region showcasing prime tourist attractions. The Waterberg Meander is a project supported and funded by the European Union, Limpopo Local Economic Development project and the Waterberg District Municipality (WDM). It was initiated by the WBR committee in 2007 and the first part of the project (website, brochures and signage) was completed in 2009. Private sector buy-in was through advertising in the brochure. The objective behind the Waterberg Meander was to combine three of the most pressing development challenges facing the reserve, namely:

- To raise the profile of the WBR in order that people visiting the area are aware of its international status, philosophy and environmental, historic, archaeological and cultural heritage.
- To develop the tourism product as a whole to draw greater numbers of tourists into the area, thereby increasing levels of employment and income streams.
- To initiate a process whereby previously disadvantaged and marginalized individuals and communities are integrated into the tourism industry through skills training, business expansion and new business development.

(Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013)

There is currently a Meander II project being initiated by the WBRMC.

WBR Projects – 2) Telekishi Cultural Village

The tourism product in the Waterberg is predominantly centred on the natural environment and although there are culturally oriented attractions, these are very limited. In order to address this, a member of a local rural village in the north-eastern Waterberg escarpment established Telekishi Ramasobana Hospitality (Telekishi Cultural Village) with the help of a local lodge owner and the WBRMC chair. Telekishi was funded through a grant application to the European Union from the WBRMC chair and was completed in 2010 (personal communication, WBRMC Chair, 2010). The features of Telekishi include walks to see stone-age tools, San rock art an 18-19th century iron-age settlement and African initiation sites. Oral histories of the conflicts between the Boer commandos and local tribes are offered as well as cultural dancing and traditional African foods. It can accommodate up to 16 people and also has a number of historical exhibits (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013).

Operationalising the Biosphere Concept

Formal recognition of biospheres has a number of advantages to the country and local area including: significant increases in land value; increased job creation; local involvement in planning and management of biodiversity and private sector involvement in conservation, health, research and education (Live Diverse, 2007). However, since the formation of the WBR, a number of internal and external issues, challenges and concerns have emerged which have affected how the biosphere meets its objectives. These are summarised below.

The public sector at provincial, district and local levels are important stakeholders for biosphere reserves and the WBRMC have worked closely with all three levels of government. However, biosphere reserves do not enjoy legal status under South African law, although core zones which are proclaimed as protected areas do have legal standing (LEDET, 2010). The Municipal Systems Amendment Act (MSAA, 2003) is arguably the most important legislation for biospheres as it regulates spatial development frameworks and land use planning. As biospheres incorporate zonation this can be a useful tool for local municipalities in both their spatial development

frameworks and land-use planning. Biosphere reserves are therefore not national parks and do not have the same legal status as these government determined and managed reserves. There is a fragmentation of laws governing conservation areas and this is problematic in them achieving their objectives. There is therefore a significant enabling environment for the protection of conservation areas in South Africa, however difficulties remain in its implementation (Live Diverse, 2007). It is therefore up to each biosphere reserve to find appropriate ways of working with stakeholders, particularly the public sector who grant planning permissions and determine land-use.

There are a number of particular challenges in the WBR including: the control of development in residential estates, getting government to move past the rhetoric of sustainability to concrete spatial development frameworks and development planning and the land claims process. Land claimants particularly present a challenge in terms of how they use their newly acquired land. Often they have no land management experience, but they do control large areas of conservation land (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013).

Initial zoning criteria were based on land ownership by members of a conservation body (the WNC), rather than scientifically- based criteria. This means the original zones do not reflect a sound conservation or sustainable development rationale (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011). In essence, the WBR existed predominantly as a designation only as it had no legal status and district authorities were slow to incorporate spatial development frameworks into their land-use planning. In July 2010, after numerous delays and almost one decade after the WBR was created, an Environmental Management Framework (EMF) was published by a team of consultants (including the WBRMC chair). The EMF was an analysis of:

- A summary of the key issues in the WBR.
- A summary of the desired state of the environment as expressed by stakeholders and the public.
- A sensitivity (priority) analysis of environmental factors.

- The preliminary identification of potential environmental management zones.
- Proposed desired state of the environment for each of the potential environmental management zones.

(Environomics and NRM Consulting, 2010).

The EMF informed the management plan for WBR which was commissioned by the Waterberg District Municipality (WDM) in July 2010 after five years of lobbying by the WBRMC. The management plan was required not only to inform local and district spatial development frameworks but also provide clear guidelines for development, as well as a more scientifically and environmentally logical zoning of the reserve. This was to fulfill UNESCO directives.

The EMF did highlight a number of concerns. In its absence district municipalities have had little to inform their spatial development frameworks and land-use planning. Concerns were raised in the EMF over the increasing demand for dense residential developments within the WBR and that the environmental impact assessment (EIA) processes associated with proposed residential developments were not being carried out (Environomics and NRM Consulting, 2010). The WBRMC has attempted to be engaged in the objections to these developments, but the fact that without the necessary planning documents, the chances of regulating and limiting inappropriate developments within the biosphere was limited. This resulted in a number of developments been given planning permission when there were serious concerns over their suitability and fit within the reserve (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011). It is not only developments within the reserve that have caused concern, but also those outside the WBR. Mining and mineral exploration along with existing power plants and those under construction are expanding economic activities just outside the WBR and have both environmental and socio-economic effects on the reserve.

It is not only the environmental and economic aspects of the WBR that cause concern, community-oriented issues also arise. As biosphere reserves seek to find SD solutions for all stakeholders, this can be problematical. Within the WBR there are a number of different communities which are culturally and economically diverse, which can be characterised by wealthy landowners and investors on the one hand, and resource poor rural communities on the other (Baber de Klerk and Walker, 2003). These issues will be expanded upon in the empirical chapters, however they do create fundamental management concerns regarding allocation of resources, access to knowledge and information and cultural integration.

4.5.3 Ten Year Review and Expansion of the WBR

As part of UNESCO's Madrid Action Plan, all biosphere reserves need to undertake a periodic review and related actions to update zonation, management and other changes to meet Seville and MAB requirements and recommendations (UNESCO, 2008). The ten year review has coincided with the production of the EMF and WBR Management Plan.

The Management Plan was drawn up in 2011 and it proposed that the WBR be expanded so that it could achieve the reserve's vision, to facilitate the functions of conservation, development and logistical support in the wider region and to manage the spatial relationship between these functions. The proposal in the plan is to expand the core area from 104,179 hectares to 228,993, the buffer zone from 185,517 hectares to 723,920, the transition zone area from 364,336 to 774, 700, making a total expansion from 654,033 hectares to 1,727,614, an increase of over two and a half times (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011). This is to address one of the issues mentioned above, in that the initial zoning was not carried out on a scientific basis. The proposed zones are in line with the EMF zones and represent a strategic spatial land-use plan based on environmental and socio-economic criteria (Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, 2013). The proposal of the WBR Management Plan, incorporating the EMF was that the proposed future biosphere reserve encompasses as much as possible of the EMF Zone 1 (Conservation focus) and EMF Zone 2 (Tourism focus) within the Waterberg. Whereas the existing

biosphere merely transects the Waterberg massif in order to connect Marakele National Park in the south west to Wonderkop Nature Reserve in the north east, the proposed biosphere reserve largely incorporates the entire Waterberg Mountain Complex. This is to maximize both conservation and marketing perspectives (ibid). Documentation on the ten-year review and expansion was submitted to UNESCO at the end of 2012. The status has been guaranteed for another ten years and the expansion approved in principle (personal communication, WBR Coordinator, 2013).

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the core theme of the micro, place-based context with regard to the case-study of the WBR. Tourism is one of the main economic activities and is seen by provincial government as one of the drivers of economic growth to try to alleviate some of the poverty concerns in the region. How tourism is developed in the region will to some extent determine sustainability outcomes for the area. The specific geographical area of the WBR is used as the case-study analysis for this study as biosphere reserves are, according to the UN, one way of making SD occur in practice. This contextual analysis has shown that tourism is the main economic and land-use activity in the WBR and therefore the context under which it develops will affect sustainability outcomes. The way the WBR was set up, how it is managed and how STD is put into practice are of relevance to this study and these themes will be returned to in the following case-study analysis chapters as they involve other core themes relating to this thesis such as discourses of SD/STD, power, knowledge, and ideology.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The problem or concern relating to this body of work is one associated with tourism as a development option in the WBR in South Africa. The previous chapters set the context for this study focusing on the macro and micro themes which underlie the study. Context is a major theme in this study as are discourse, knowledge, ideology and power and it is these themes which are used to explore the aim and objectives of this thesis:

Aim:

To examine active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa to understand the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable development in the region.

Objectives:

1. To examine the issues which surround tourism development and its contribution to sustainable development.
2. To examine the discourses of active stakeholders concerning development, tourism development and sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve.
3. To establish the extent to which tourism development can contribute to sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve

In order for the aim and objectives to be achieved, a research process needs to be undertaken. Each of the following sections is examined in relation to how the aim and objectives are approached. First, this chapter outlines and discusses the philosophical paradigm in which the research project is located. The epistemological and theoretical perspectives are examined including why the constructivist epistemology is favoured along with the research paradigm

of phenomenology. A critical approach to research is adopted in this study. Critical theory and critical discourse analysis are examined, focusing on the main tenets of CDA which are also the main analytical themes in this thesis: context; knowledge; ideology and power. Second, the methodological considerations including objectivity, positionality, reflexivity, validity, reliability and generalisability are discussed. Third, the methods used at each phase of the research project are then stated. These methods include both the collection and analysis of primary and secondary data. Fourth, the ethical considerations relevant to this study are stated and finally the potential limitations of the methodology are outlined.

5.2 The Philosophical Basis of Research

The starting point for the research process entails asking a number of fundamental questions, the answers to which underpin not only what is researched, but how and using which perspectives. Crotty (2003, p2) uses a four question approach to examine this process:

- What *methods* do we propose to use?
- What *methodology* governs our choice and use of methods?
- What *theoretical perspective* lies behind the methodology in question?
- What *epistemology* informs this theoretical perspective?

Creswell (2003, p.5) suggests that these four elements inform all aspects of research design “from the broad assumptions’ to the more ‘practical decisions’ of data collection and analysis”. Crotty (2003, p3) defines the four elements in the following way:

“Methods: the techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis.

Methodology: the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes.

Theoretical perspective: the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria.

Epistemology: the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology.”

The following sections examine these four elements with regard to this case-study and specifically to the aim and objectives. This involves not only a description of these elements, but a rationale as to how and why the relevant approaches were taken.

5.2.1 Epistemology

This section outlines the epistemological considerations regarding the research. A brief background to epistemology is given followed by a justification of the epistemological approach utilised in addressing the aims and objectives.

“Epistemological questions involve the concepts of knowledge, evidence, reasons for believing, justification, probability and what one ought to believe, and any other concepts that can only be understood through one or more of the above”

(Fumerton, 2006, p1)

Epistemology is driven by two fundamental questions – ‘what is knowledge?’ and ‘what can we know?’ which then leads to a third – ‘how do we know what we know?’ (Greco and Sosa, 1999). Knowledge is therefore the paradigmatic focus of enquiry. Ontology conversely, is the “study of being.” (Gray, 1998, p.17) and also the nature of reality assumed by the researcher (Veal, 2011). Knowledge refers to what objects or entities exist and how they relate to each other, influencing what is viewed, or considered as reality (Guba 1990). This research is located within social constructionism (Berger and Luckman, 1967; Gergen, 1991; Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Constructionism is the view that:

“All knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and

developed and transmitted within an essentially social context"

(Crotty, 2003, p42) (emphasis in original).

The constructionist approach sees social reality as constructed through language which produces particular versions of events, whereby knowledge is brought into being through verbal exchange and the researcher is a co-producer of knowledge (King and Horrocks, 2010). Language is considered as constitutive and constructive, rather than reflective and representative (Wood and Kroger, 2000). As this project analyses the discourses of STD in the WBR, the justification for the constructionist approach links back to the research objectives, particularly objective two. In researching the subject of stakeholder's discourses of STD in the WBR, the meaning of the interviewees has to be constructed. My own account of the social world is therefore a construction, as are those of the interviewees. Thus the social phenomena of tourism development and sustainability need to be constructed in the context of who said what, where and when. As Guba and Lincoln (1989) assert, the social world cannot be described without examining how we use language to construct social practice and material realities. For Phillips and Hardy (2002, p2), "without discourse, there is no social reality, and without understanding discourse, we cannot understand our reality, our experiences, or ourselves".

In order to examine the issues surrounding tourism development and its contribution to sustainable development (objective one) there is an 'interplay' between these issues in terms of the individual and the social world. In constructionism '...the categories that people employ in helping them understand the natural and social world are in fact social products' (Bryman 2008, p.20). In this light, all the concepts that underpin this study, along with the associated discourses can be understood as a social construction. These are produced and reproduced through social interaction, shared understandings and representations, rather than these concepts and discourses being 'known' and external to society. For these reasons, social constructionism is seen as an appropriate framework for this research. This is because individuals are often drawing on 'something' that is either wholly or partially defined for them. This could relate to development, sustainability,

tourism or a combination thereof, all of which are social constructions. Therefore, the researcher and the stakeholders who can actively influence STD in the WBR must consider their own ideas and values in relation to these concepts. This fits with the recognition that “constructionism frequently results in an interest in the representation of social phenomena” (Bryman 2008, p.20).

5.2.2 Theoretical Perspectives

When conducting research, the nature of the problem and the philosophical stance will determine how that problem is approached. Theoretical perspectives therefore inform the methodology and provide a context for the process and ground its logic and criteria (Crotty, 2003). As numerous authors note, there are two broad theoretical perspectives or research philosophies, namely positivistic and phenomenological (Henderson, 1990, Finn, Elliot-White and Walton, 2000, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009). This section examines the philosophical position which informs the methodological approach undertaken in the research.

The positivistic research philosophy or paradigm explains phenomena in what causes the behaviour we observe, while the phenomenological paradigm focuses more on the social processes and how individuals shape and give meaning to the social world (Finn, Elliot-White and Walton, 2000). The positivistic approach is a philosophical one which refers to a particular set of assumptions about the social world, whereby society is seen as more important than the individuals in it. The positivist approach is one which has an affinity with the natural sciences and often adopts a realist ontology (Flick 2009). Positivists therefore do not see the value in employing qualitative research whereby the world is socially constructed by the researcher (McNeil and Chapman 2005). They use quantitative approaches which are objectivist and scientific in nature.

In contrast, phenomenology has its roots in a Weberian approach to research, rejecting purely scientific notions being the only way of understanding the world. Phenomenology as a research paradigm was founded by Husserl in

the early twentieth century. His work was developed by Berger and Luckman (1967) who assert that social reality is not out there waiting to be experienced by social actors (even though it may feel as though it is), it results in a social construction of the world we live in. Interpretivism has close links with a constructionist epistemology and in turn, a relativist ontology. Reality is therefore constructed through this social interaction.

In summary, positivistic research tends to be quantitative, objectivist, scientific, experimentalist and traditionalist, whereas phenomenological research is generally qualitative, subjectivist, humanistic and interpretivist (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2004). The latter paradigm is the approach relevant to this case-study, the reasons for which are outlined below.

Critical Approach to Research

This study rejects the positivist paradigm in favour of a phenomenological approach to research. When examining discourses of STD, the theoretical approach of phenomenology is used to examine the social world. An understanding and interpretation of the social environment is critical to this research, therefore a philosophical stance of how individuals make sense of the world around them is needed. Phenomenologists view human behaviour as a product of how people interpret the world and in order to grasp the meanings of a person's behaviour, they attempt to see things from that person's perspective (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Therefore a phenomenological approach to this research project is favoured because it involves human behaviour, how people perceive the world and the interpretations of the social world as I and others see it. It also involves the use of discourse and how discourse is constituted, which is also a social phenomenon.

The epistemological approach to this study has its foundations in the work of critical theorists, particularly Horkheimer, Habermas and the Frankfurt

school's work.²⁰ The main concepts underpinning critical theory relate to the main themes of this thesis in that context, power, ideology are not inseparable and that discourse is not neutral or objective and constructs the world (Kincheloe and McClaren, 2002; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). This is the rationale for their inclusion as themes and they also underpin methodological approaches to undertaking research such as CDA, which is examined below. As such, a critical approach to researching the aim and objectives is taken.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis sees that science and scholarly discourse are not value free and are part of, and influenced by, social structure and produced in social interaction (van Dijk, 2001). Discourse refers to:

“...all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation”
(Bloor and Bloor, 2007, p6).

CDA stems from the work of Habermas and seeks to understand social problems that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships, which are perpetuated by discourse. Its objective is to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in discourse in order to resist and overcome various forms of “power over” or to gain an appreciation of how power is exercised which may not always be apparent (Fairclough, 1989). In uncovering active stakeholder discourses (objective two), it is recognised that these discourses are ideologically based and CDA helps to uncover this. CDA seeks to describe, interpret, analyse, and critique social life reflected in discourse. It is concerned with studying and analysing discourses to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias.

²⁰ Horkheimer argues that social theory should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society as opposed to just understanding it (Connerton, 1980). Habermas claims that societies must reproduce themselves materially (biologically) and symbolically (culturally, linguistically). Habermas' ‘theory of communicative action’ highlights the way in which language uses the individual as they are constrained by the system in which language operates. This work talks of a ‘linguistic turn’ in social philosophy (Habermas, 1985).

Context is critical in CDA as it examines how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within various political social, economic and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1988). This has specific relevance to this study as it takes place in a variety of contexts. In analysing all three objectives context is of particular relevance. The macro and micro contexts are introduced in the previous chapters and relates to development paradigms, SD/STD, stakeholder analysis and the place specific contexts. These contexts are themes running throughout this work and are revisited in the empirical chapters when the discourses of active stakeholders in STD in the WBR are analysed. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) summarise the foremost principles of CDA:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes both society and culture.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- Discourse is knowledge based
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action.

These principles also relate to this case study in that it is addressing a social problem relating to stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the WBR. These stakeholder discourses and those which surround the concepts of development, SD/STD are knowledge based, involve power relations and are related to ideologies. This is therefore further justification for the themes of knowledge, ideology and power which are evident in chapters two to four and also in the empirical chapters. There are numerous approaches to CDA (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1997; Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Weiss and Wodak, 2003, Simpson and Mayr, 2010). Whichever approach is undertaken, as discourse is socially consequential, it involves issues of power, ideologies and epistemological considerations relating to knowledge (van Dijk, 2001).

These correlate to Foucauldian approaches to CDA for whom a discourse is not a communicative exchange, but a complex entity that encompasses ideology, strategy, language and practice. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault states that discourses can be treated as: "...practices that systematically inform the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p54). This assumes a co-existence of discourse, objects and material realities. For example, discursive practices such as language and thought lead to non-discursive practices such as action and these in turn lead to material realities (organisations, buildings etc.). The relationship between these three can be labelled a *dispositif* and can be represented diagrammatically as Figure 5.1 shows:

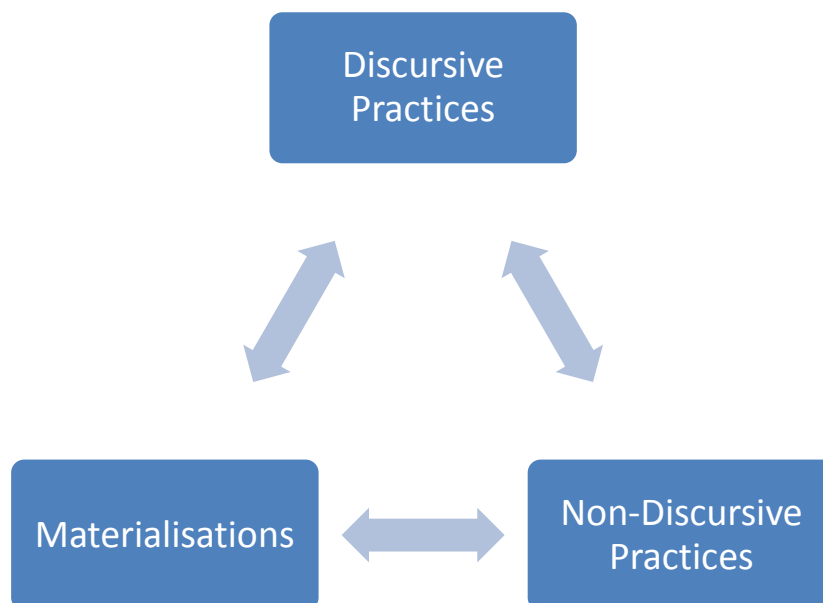


Figure 5.1 Dispositives (adapted from Wodak and Meyer, 2009)

In the context of this study, this has particular relevance. It was shown in the literature review that the discourse of sustainable development came out of the environmental movement. This then led to the non-discursive practices such as the Brundtland Report, the UN's documentation on biospheres and subsequently the formation of the WBR. It is the discourses that relate to the *dispositif* that this thesis seeks to explore. The actual CDA approach is developed in section 4.2, however it is worth noting here that critical theory

applied through a Foucauldian approach to CDA underpins the theoretical perspective.

CDA Justification

There are numerous ways to analyse text. Titscher et al (2002) in their comprehensive analysis of twelve methods of text analysis, discuss the applications and uses of these various methods. These include: content analysis; grounded theory; ethnographic text analysis; narrative semiotics and critical discourse analysis. For this research project critical discourse analysis (CDA) was selected as the preferred method of textual analysis as it is a linguistic method examining both the coherence of the text as well as the cohesion (the textual-syntactic connectedness) and involves ideologies associated with power (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). These issues relate to development, SD/ STD and stakeholders, therefore in addressing the research objectives, CDA is an appropriate tool for analysing these concerns. Not only does CDA examine what people say, it also examines why they say these things. Non-linguistic methods such as grounded theory and content analysis only examine coherence and it is through incorporating and analysing syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels (cohesion) that a deeper understanding of the language used can be gained.

5.3 Methodological Considerations

This section focuses on the methodological considerations which are in line with the constructionist epistemology and phenomenological theoretical perspective. This involves a discussion of objectivity, positionality, reflexivity, validity and reliability/dependability.

There has been a movement to interdisciplinary approaches in sustainability research and divergent ontological and epistemological perspectives (Khoo, 2013). In this light, these perspectives and different methodological approaches, particularly the qualitative ones which socially construct environmental or sustainability concerns, offer opportunities to expand knowledge. This thesis does just that through its qualitative approach. The methodological approach of this thesis uses an emic perspective of the

stakeholder discourses of tourism as a development option. This is to examine the active stakeholders own interpretations and local inside knowledge (Jennings and Weiler 2006). This knowledge is then reflected in their discourses of STD in the WBR. If an etic approach was undertaken, the constructs relating to STD would have been designed by the researcher and would therefore not have been a fit with the research aims and objectives. The purpose of this research is not to predict or generalise, but is to describe, understand and interpret. Reality is therefore socially constructed and has many meanings or interpretations. There is a synergy between the research design and the subject being researched that underpins the qualitative methodology in this study.

5.3.1 Objectivity

Phenomenologists have to examine the various constructions that arise from not only their perspectives, but also of those being researched. This leads to the issues of objectivity when conducting this type of research which involves an opportunity to gather and interpret knowledge about the social world. This allows us to make claims about the world, claims that are much more than opinions, but are evidence based theories which can substantiate or refute not only our own beliefs, but those of wider society (May 2001). This is what Mills (1959) would call the 'sociological imagination', that is, a theorising of the social world and it is this theorising that leads us to a better understanding of society, in this case discourses of STD in the WBR. Being objective refers to the removal of the researcher's persona (emotions, knowledge, experience, values etc.) from the research process (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). As Esterberg (2002) notes, researchers are seldom in a position of neutrality from the research process as their research reflects both their interests and their priorities. This is pertinent to this research for the following reasons: the Waterberg was not chosen by accident, as I have visited the area on numerous occasions; tourism is an area of personal and professional interest and finally; I am a white, Western, English-speaking, male academic investigating development concerns. This then leads into two linked areas, discussed below. The first involves my 'positionality' and the second on

reflexivity. All of these aspects influence my ability to have a truly objective approach and this is recognised as a potential limitation of the research.

5.3.2 Positionality and Reflexivity

One of the fundamental aspects of qualitative research is that the researcher understands and reflects upon their active role in driving and modelling their study. This active role involves notions of positionality and reflexivity. Positionality refers to the identities of the researcher in relation to the researched and incorporates the idea of situated knowledge (Wolf, 1996). Positionality is dependent on the culture, gender, race and life experiences of the researcher (Berry and Mizelle, 2006), and also ideological leanings, epistemological perspectives and philosophical orientations (Beckman and Adeoti, 2006). Situated knowledge is therefore central to the research process. As Thomas (2009) notes, the researcher is an active not passive agent in acquiring knowledge of the numerous processes, histories, language and events surrounding the research context.

With regard to this research project, how we view not only ourselves, but also others, is crucial as it involves the study of 'the Other' (Urry 1990). Ryan (2005) states that the very action of question asking is not a neutral act, it bestows legitimacy on the question as the question forms an agenda to be considered by the respondent. It also requires a response, one that may or not be 'the truth', but is certainly a construct. As part of the research process, constant evaluation of bias and subjectivity needs to be considered as do techniques such as reflexivity for limiting or reducing bias.

My own experiences of South Africa are predominantly from a 'First World' perspective, either as a privileged tourist or an equally privileged researcher. The initial contacts with people in the Waterberg were with those from the advantaged residents living in relative luxury as opposed to the majority of the disadvantaged. As Visser (2000) notes, Western Academics, when undertaking research in South Africa, need to do so with respect to cultural, economic, social, racial and gender sensibilities. While this is laudable and something which I strive for, it can be problematic in practice and required me

to undertake cross-cultural research and an appreciation of a variety of situations and people. As part of the reflexive approach in this project, I understand that I am a well-travelled and predominantly empathetic person who is well versed in cultural nuances. However, as it was important to get 'good data', the issue of establishing rapport and trust with the stakeholders arose, some of whom may have been distrustful of a white, academic from the UK. An issue did occur with one group of interviewees, African land claimants, who were initially reluctant to sign the consent form, as they were distrustful of signing any paperwork. This cross-cultural sensitivity involved me being open in answering any questions people had about me, my research and my motivations. Sometimes I had to downplay my professional status with the interviewees, as I wanted to present myself as the learner and that I was attempting to understand something about their opinions and attitudes. Through reflexivity and careful consideration of my own bias and values, my research recognises these considerations at all stages of the research process. How this research project was designed, which questions were asked to whom and why those questions were asked is a reflection of the way in which I understand the social world.

5.3.3 Validity, Reliability and Dependability

One of the central concerns regarding qualitative inquiry is that of validity, which relates to plausibility, relevance, credibility, completeness, appropriateness, comprehensiveness, conformability, applicability, consistency, and neutrality (Whittemore, Chase and Mandle, 2001). When undertaking research in another culture, Kvale (1983) asserts that validity is problematical due to the differences in the cultures of the researcher and researched. It can however be achieved through crystallisation. For Richardson (1994) there is no fixed reality when researching the social world and therefore in order to enhance the validity of the research, she offers crystallization as a better way (than triangulation) of viewing qualitative research design. "Crystallisation refers to the practice of 'validation' of results by using multiple methods of data collection and analysis" (Hodder as cited in Maree and van de Westhuizen, 2009, p35). It is especially relevant in tourism-related research as tourism is a multifaceted and interdisciplinary

phenomenon (Decroip, 2004). A variety of data sources were used for this thesis: government reports; interview data; and academic literary sources. A number of methods were also used: both primary and secondary methods. Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) also identify numerous techniques for demonstrating validity. The ones which are relevant to this study include: developing a self-conscious research design sampling decisions (i.e., sampling adequacy); employing crystallisation; articulating data collection decisions; demonstrating prolonged engagement; providing verbatim transcription; exploring rival explanations; performing a literature review; reflexive journaling; providing evidence that support interpretations; acknowledging the researcher perspective; providing thick descriptions. All these aspects have been considered, taken into account and actioned where necessary throughout the whole research process. For example verbatim transcriptions were carried out of all interviews, crystallisation has been employed and engagement with the region and the subject has been investigated over a number of years.

An important question regarding research projects: "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p290). In answering this they state that in qualitative research the whole process must be 'dependable' which corresponds to the term 'reliable' in the positivist paradigm. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p316) go on to state that "Since there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former [validity] is sufficient to establish the latter [reliability]". The validity of this research project has been demonstrated above, therefore ipso facto it can also deem to be reliable/dependable.

5.3.4 Generalisability

The discussion of generalisability in phenomenology is similar to that of reliability, that is, the research findings of one case cannot be directly translated into others or generalisations made about whole populations (Wainwright, 1997). This research project has endeavoured to do just that through a rigorous approach to theoretical perspectives, methodological considerations and the methods employed.

5.4 Methods

The research objectives listed in 5.1 above state that the central purpose of the research project is to determine whether tourism can be a sustainable development option in the WBR. This was done through a variety of methods, which are techniques or procedures used to collect and analyse data (King and Horrocks, 2010). Primary methods of data collection included semi-structured interviews and the examination of primary documents from a variety of sources. The secondary sources were used to complement the primary data and consisted of an extensive review of secondary literature from journals, books, websites and reports. This section discusses these methods in relation to the aim and objectives.

5.4.1 Case-study approach

A case-study is appropriate when the researcher requires an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon because of its uniqueness. The WBR has been recognised by UNESCO as a unique area (UNESCO, 2002) and is one of the reasons why a case-study is appropriate for this project. Other reasons are given below. Case-studies have certain characteristics which are outlined below, all of which can be applied to this research project (in italics) (Ellinger, Watkins and Marsick, 2005). Case-studies are:

- Bounded – *the WBR is a specific geographical area.*
- Embedded in larger systems – *Macro: development; tourism systems and micro: South African social, economic, political systems.*
- Multivariate – *numerous variables exist including social, economic, political, legislative, environmental.*
- Multi-method – *primary and secondary methods employed.*
- Multi-disciplinary – *tourism, development studies, sociology, geography, management.*
- Multi-site – *multiple people access numerous sites from numerous locations.*

Case-studies are carried out within the boundaries of one social system, monitoring a phenomenon over a specific time period (Swanborn, 2010), in this case tourism development in the WBR from 2009 to 2013. This case-study uses what Swanborn calls a holistic approach whereby the behaviour of people and social phenomenon within the boundaries of the WBR system are explored. Case-studies also incorporate the idea that the researcher deals with several stakeholders each with perceptions, interpretations, arguments, explanations and prejudices, (Elinger, Watkins and Marsick, 2005). This relates objective two of this thesis regarding active stakeholder discourses in the WBR and hence the use of a case-study analysis. However, there are criticisms levelled at case-studies, particularly the issues of bias (Yin, 2003). This is related to the notions of rigour and objectivity. The former is addressed through the theoretical and methodological considerations and the latter is specifically addressed through reflexivity mentioned above.

5.4.2 Research Phases

This section charts how the research project was undertaken, when the different approaches to data collection were carried out and why that particular method was chosen. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the research stages, which methods were employed and when.

The Research Process - Phase 1: Literature Review and Scoping Visit

This section examines the first phase of the research process which includes secondary research in the form of undertaking a literature review and also primary research which involved a scoping visit to the Waterberg in June and July, 2009. This phase relates mainly to objective one which is to examine the issues surrounding tourism as a sustainable development option.

Phase	Research focus	Methods employed	Analysis
Phase 1	Literature Review – perspectives on SD October 2008 to September 2010	Secondary – Initial review of literature	Thematic Analysis
	Scoping Visit to WBR June –July 2009	Primary – meetings with gatekeeper and pilot interviews	Thematic Analysis
Phase 2	Data collection on discourses on STD in WBR June 2010 to August 2012	Primary - Semi-structured interviews Participant observation. Secondary – on-going review of literature	Critical Discourse Analysis: Coding of transcribed interview data
Phase 3	Analysis of discourses of STD in the WBR and Final Interviews July 2010 – July 2013	Primary - Semi-structured interviews Secondary – on-going Review of Literature	Critical Discourse Analysis: Analysis of data

Table 5.1: Phases of the research process

Literature Review

In addressing the first objective it is necessary to explore how tourism is viewed as a development option. This involves initially undertaking a literature review on the main themes that surround this subject. As Bourdieu (1983) notes, when undertaking a literature review, a researcher cannot cover all the bases due to the amount of available information. Therefore when engaging with the literature it is useful to consider the major positions/dividing lines the fields are organised around. It is also important to consider how the particular individuals, groups or institutions position themselves with respect to these dividing lines and finally, adopt a critical stance. Taking cognisance of this, the positioning of the thesis in the literature allows these divisions to be made. The project analyses issues of tourism as a sustainable development option

from both theoretical and stakeholder perspectives. The literature review was split into two sections based around the macro and micro contexts which underpin the study and was carried out throughout the duration of this thesis, although the bulk of the literature was reviewed between October 2008 and September 2010.

The sources used for this data collection were the core academic books and journals along with crucial South African Government websites, documents and papers. South African governmental organisations include the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) and South African Tourism (formerly SATOUR). Global organisations such as the World Tourism Organisation, the United Nations and the World Bank are all relevant organisations to this study. According to May (2001) the use of government data and other commissioned research is useful and can be regarded as primary data for research purposes, but there needs to be a recognition that the data are often not 'social facts', but are social and political constructions which may be based on the interests of those commissioning the research. Thus a critical approach to government and multi-lateral organisation data was used examining who has carried out the research, for what purpose and using what methodological approaches. One of the methodological issues when dealing with the South African government is the temporal issue thrown up by effectively having a completely new type of political regime after apartheid ended. Comparing figures for the pre and post apartheid periods could therefore be problematical and there needs to be recognition that the data may be unreliable.

As a result of conducting the literature review it was evident that while there is a substantial literature on development and SD, the literature on linking tourism development and SD is a fledgling one. Specifically, the work on power that links development, SD and tourism development is limited. Approaches which use CDA to uncover the link between power, ideology and knowledge with regard to tourism development are also lacking in the literature. From a case-study perspective, the literature on the WBR is also very sparse and predominantly concerned with species and habitats in the

region. The discovery of these gaps helped to shape the remainder of the research process, determined the methods employed and also the nature of analysis undertaken.

Scoping Visit to South Africa

The first step in this process was a scoping visit to the region during June and July 2009 in order to make contact with the gatekeeper and undertake some preliminary scoping interviews in order that a better understanding of the fundamental issues in the WBR could be ascertained. The use of gatekeepers is imperative in conducting research in social or cultural environments whereby access to individuals or organisations can be problematical (Peil, 1993; Mandel, 2003). The gatekeeper for the project is the chair of the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve Management Committee (WBRMC). I have made contact with this individual on previous visits to South Africa and during the writing of my research proposal. One of the central issues regarding gatekeepers is whether they have the authority to grant access (Denscombe, 2003). Due to his position, this authority enabled me access to other potentially active stakeholders and documentation regarding the biosphere. An underlying concern was that of keeping good relations with this person thus allowing me access to the stakeholders who have an interest in the Biosphere. While recognising that gatekeepers have the keys to the gate, it was crucial to establish that my research is of mutual benefit. It was also necessary that I made reasonable demands on having access to those keys and to time availability. During this initial visit I received a number of contacts and also permission to use the gatekeeper's name when contacting stakeholders for the first time. This allowed me to undertake a scoping exercise in the area and meet with a number of WBR tourism stakeholders in the accommodation and other tourism-related business categories. Some preliminary interviews were undertaken with those who were easily accessible and who were suitable for these pilot interviews due to their knowledge of tourism in the WBR. In order to carry this out a strategy for formulating questions for the initial and the subsequent interviews was required. This was

done using Bryman's (2004, p326) staged approach. His model sees the process as:

General research area→ Specific research questions→ Interview topics→ Formulate interview questions → Review/revise interview questions→ Pilot guide → Identify novel issues→ Revise interview questions→ Finalise guide.

The initial interviews were not recorded, but notes were taken in order to tease out the critical issues using a thematic analysis with regard to SD and tourism development in the WBR. This was done in order that I could then use Bryman's model to review/revise the interview questions for the next stage of interviewing. On returning back to the UK, between August 2009 and May 2010 I established contact with some stakeholders in the public and private sectors along with individuals in civil society or related to NGOs to inform them of my research and my pending visit.

Active Stakeholder Justification

Regarding the second objective of examining the discourses of active stakeholders concerning development, tourism development and sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, it is necessary to ascertain which stakeholders are classified as active. The literature review (section 3.4.4) shows that there are both active and passive stakeholders in any issue or concern. To reiterate, active stakeholders are those who affect decisions or actions, while passive stakeholders are those who are affected. The concern being examined is tourism development and its contribution to SD. The criteria of deciding whether stakeholders are active or passive are based on their ability to affect the three pillars of sustainable tourism development through their involvement with tourism. This was achieved first by examining the literature on active/passive stakeholders and applying it to those with a stake in the tourism industry and development concerns in the WBR. To reiterate, active stakeholders are:

“The most fundamental division between stakeholders is likely to be between those who *affect* (determine) a decision or

action, and those *affected* by this decision or action (whether positively or negatively); these groups may be termed *active* and *passive* stakeholders.”
Grimble and Wellard (1997, p176)

It is this fundamental division that is important. If active stakeholders can actively affect sustainability concerns in the WBR, then gaining an understanding of how they see development can help to gain an understanding of the tourism development process. This requires some knowledge of owning land, a business, being involved in an NGO or in a public sector role that can influence decisions. It is recognised that passive stakeholders are important, and understanding their views could certainly be an area of further research. Second, all research projects need to gather data which is fit for purpose (Veal, 2011). While on the scoping visit a number of lower-level people in organisations were interviewed regarding development, SD, tourism development and the biosphere. The data generated was however very limited and it was clear that those active stakeholders could produce the data that would be able to help answer the research aim.

The Research Process - Phase 2: Primary Data Collection

The second phase builds on the first in order to more fully address the second research objective. The window of opportunity for primary research was limited and spatially the stakeholders are spread across a large geographical area necessitating long travel times. This research project focuses specifically on the discourses of stakeholders on STD in the Waterberg Biosphere. This is best served by using methods which allow those stakeholders to express views in an open and flexible way and are discussed in the following section.

Data Collection - Semi-structured interviews

When choosing appropriate methods in the research process it is necessary to explore not only appropriateness in terms of the techniques to be used, but also practical concerns such as temporal or spatial issues. Interviews were selected as the most appropriate method to collect data that would enable objective two to be analysed. May (2001) asserts that interviews yield rich insights into people's experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and

feelings. They can also generate a significant amount of discourse on a variety of topics. Tourism development is a complex issue and covers a number of themes. Therefore the contextual issues identified in the literature were used as the basis for question formulation. While questionnaires or surveys may uncover stakeholder attitudes, deeper levels of understanding can only be gained through having a semi-structured approach to interviews. This allows the interviewer and interviewee to establish a rapport, to be flexible whereby questions can be framed, re-framed and an iterative process of refinement can occur whereby lines of thought of previous interviews can be explored if necessary. Semi-structured interviews are essential in ascertaining discourses as there are very limited written accounts of how the stakeholders see issues such as STD in the WBR. They allow the interviewer an insight into the interviewees' world and can provide rich data on a variety of themes. They also allow the translation of research objectives into specific questions and assist the interviewer into motivating the respondent to provide this rich and varied data (Denzin, 2009).

The main phase of interviewing began in June 2010 and ended in July 2010. In total, twenty eight participants were interviewed during this period. The questions of who to interview, when, where and how, relate not only to the logistical elements of the research, but also the theoretical perspectives in constructing the methods. Background research was therefore carried out on stakeholders where possible, through either internet searches, questioning the gatekeeper or other prominent tourism stakeholders or residents in the area.

The question of who to interview was dependent on first identifying the stakeholders and their roles in the WBR. Geographically this restricted the interview sample to those in Limpopo Province and the Waterberg region particularly. The stakeholder analysis in chapter six contains a list of potential international and regional stakeholders, but this study focuses on those who are actively affecting sustainability on the ground and within the WBR. This means that there needs to be criteria for identifying who is and who is not active in STD in the WBR. For example economic criteria involve the ability to

be active regarding job creation or income generation, social sustainability revolves around quality of life and empowerment, while environmental sustainability involves such issues as land-use. A criteria-based judgement was taken prior to interview as to whether the stakeholder was likely to be active or passive. Some candidates were rejected for interview as they had low-level roles in organisations and their ability to affect decisions that would impact on SD/STD in the WBR was limited. It is recognised that tourists are a major stakeholder in the industry, but they were rejected for interview as they cannot directly affect tourism development in the WBR. Those selected for interview include:

Public Sector

The public sector employees who were interviewed are at a decision-making level, either at provincial or district levels. All have either a direct or indirect jurisdiction over tourism and have the ability to influence the direction of development in the WBR either as a senior manager or planner making development decisions. This therefore affects their ability to affect tourism as a development option within the region. As stated in chapter three, land-use planning and effective implementation are paramount in the sustainable development of destinations. This ability to make strategic and operational development decisions is critical in them being seen as active stakeholders in tourism development.

Accommodation Providers

The accommodation providers who were interviewed were predominantly the owners of businesses, although some were employees at senior management level with overall responsibility for the whole operation. The rural land owners own accommodation or lodges on large areas of land where they offer activities to tourists such as hunting, game viewing, horse-riding, or a combination of these. These landowners in the Waterberg employ a number of local people in a variety of positions. They can therefore influence economic, social and environmental issues within the WBR. The business managers are some of the major employers in the area and were therefore selected for interview.

Other Tourism-related Businesses

Within the WBR there are a number of small businesses which are either directly or indirectly related to the tourism industry. In Vaalwater for instance there are a few cafes and retail outlets that cater to locals and tourists alike. There are no major retail chains in the WBR, with the exception of supermarkets. Most businesses in the retail/hospitality area are locally owned/managed and are SMEs. As hunting plays a large part in the tourism offer in the WBR, there are a number of businesses which relate to this aspect of the industry, for example, taxidermy, game capture and auction. Real estate also plays a significant role in the buying and selling of land in the area as does the development of land and property. Business owners and entrepreneurs from these areas were also selected for interview as land-use concerns are fundamental in determining the direction of tourism development and thus affecting tourism as a development option.

Civil Society Individuals or Representatives

The previous chapter identified the main individuals and civil society groups who have a stake in the tourism industry in the WBR. The WBRMC is represented by the chairman, the administrator and one of the board members who are also responsible for the development and management of one of the few cultural tourism enterprises in the area. The WNC is also represented as are the Waterberg Welfare Society (WWS) who are involved in economic and social development in the area. Small-scale NGOs and interested individuals who have played a role in the creation of the WBR were also interviewed as they either have had or continue to have an influence over tourism development in the WBR.

Land Claimants

As was stated in the previous chapter, there has been an on-going land reclamation process in South Africa for a number of years with some claims resolved and others still continuing. As land ownership was one of the criteria for examining the stakeholders to be interviewed, representatives from one successful and one on-going claim were interviewed. At both interviews there

were a number of representatives from each community present, however the spokesperson dominated the interview with only limited input from other community members. These community-oriented groups either have or potentially have the ability to affect what happens on large areas of land within the WBR, thus affecting tourism in the WBR. (Appendix 2 shows a list of the interviewees)

One of the main considerations during the pre-interview stage was the need to brief the gatekeeper of my intentions of who I wanted to interview. This was done via email before I went to South Africa in June 2010 and was subsequently reinforced during my initial meeting on arrival. There were a number of 'what if' scenarios that needed to be considered with regard to the 'who' question: what if the gatekeeper moves; resigns from the post; we encounter problems in working together or he is extremely unreliable? These issues were carefully considered and contingency plans were drawn up, for example, identifying alternative gatekeepers, or individuals who could act as mediators. An alternative gatekeeper was identified through the scoping visit in 2009. This individual is well known in the WBR, has been involved in the Biosphere from the start and was instrumental in setting up the Waterberg Nature Conservancy (WNC). The contingency plan proved unnecessary as the gatekeeper was extremely forthcoming, not only with documentation pertaining to the WBR, but also with providing me with a list of contacts. The gatekeeper's role was twofold: first, as a source of a number of documents regarding the biosphere set-up and management and second, the provider of the initial contacts. The gatekeeper was interviewed, but did not participate in any subsequent interviews. Once these initial contacts were made, this person was not involved in the interview process and had no influence on who was subsequently interviewed and the questions which were asked to the interviewees.

The initial interviewees were contacted by phone with an explanation of who I was, what I was doing and that I had gained their contact details from the gatekeeper, thus adding some authority to my interview request. This could be seen as a weakness in the research design as I initially needed to be

guided by the gatekeeper, and could be construed as a form of bias in the research. However, the snowball sampling method was used whereby interviewees recommended further potential people to meet. This method is deemed appropriate within tight-knit communities such as those within the tourism industry in the WBR (King and Horrocks, 2010). All interviewees were reassured that any generated materials would only be used for the purposes of this study and/or academic journal articles, that all information would be confidential and all people in the study would be anonymised.

The interviews were semi-structured and what Alvesson (2002) calls 'localist' in nature, whereby the interview produces a situated account, drawing upon cultural resources in order to produce morally adequate descriptions. Interviewees all had information sheets given to them prior to the interview and they all signed a consent form stating that they understood the nature of the research and that all information was confidential (see section 5.5 below on Ethical Issues for more detail). Interviews lasted between thirty and seventy five minutes and were all face-to-face, digitally recorded and later transcribed.

The 'where' and 'when' questions relate to logistical and temporal issues concerning both myself and the potential interviewees. I was in the Waterberg region for around six weeks in 2010 and all the bulk of the interviews took place during this time. The 'what to ask' was established through the thematic analysis from the information gained during the interviews in 2009 and also from synthesising the macro and micro contexts pertinent to the study as outlined in chapters two and three. The notion behind this was to adopt a flexible approach to interviewing which allows the interview to take divergent paths. King and Horrocks (2010) state that flexibility is essential in semi-structured interviews as it allows the production of both intended and unintended data, both of which are part of the phenomenologist approach.

Pre-interview, a checklist was produced which contained a number of topics or themes to be discussed. This was referred to throughout the process and I ensured that the relevant topics were covered in each interview. The

interviews started by asking for some background to the interviewee. The question “Can you tell me about yourself?” was used with appropriate follow-up questions to get background information on the interviewees. This is an important aspect of CDA as who the stakeholders are affects what they say (their discourses). They were also asked: “What does the Waterberg as an area mean to you?” These questions were also used to relax the interviewees and allow them to talk about a subject with which they were familiar. (Appendix 3 includes a list of themes and sample questions.)

One of the concerns with using the method of interviews is that the social desirability effect may be exhibited by those being researched, that is, they may exhibit a tendency towards replying in ways that are meant to be consistent with their perception of the desirability of certain kinds of answer (Bryman, 2004). This did occur with some public sector officials who seemed to ‘tow the government’ line with respect to their responses. Further probing was used when this occurred and this did open up some officials to be more open with their responses.

After completing the first twenty eight interviews in 2010, all interviews were transcribed and the process of analysis started (see section on Phase 3 below). It was identified that there were some gaps in the types of stakeholder interviewed, particularly from those involved in the hunting industry in the WBR. I subsequently returned to South Africa in 2011 for a period of one week and conducted a further five interviews, one from a hunting operator, the newly appointed WBR coordinator and three respondents had follow-up interviews. These three respondents were identified as having produced rich data on a variety of subjects and were all on the supply-side of the tourism industry. One final interview was conducted via Skype after I returned to the UK. This stakeholder was interviewed as they were mentioned in one of the 2011 interviews a number of times as being involved in a number of tourism development projects which are pertinent to the issues of tourism development in the WBR.

The Research Process Phase 3: Data Analysis

This section examines the final stage in the research, whereby the data from the interviews was transcribed, synthesised, analysed and subsequently written into the thesis. This relates to all three objectives, but specifically to objective two and three.

The justification for using CDA as a methodological approach was outlined in the theoretical perspective in 5.2.2. It was stated that it involves an analysis of the coherence and cohesion of text (discourses) and involves the main themes in this work of, knowledge power, ideology and context. Producing verbatim transcripts is a necessary aspect of CDA and this was the initial step in the analytical process. Although it was a laborious process, it was speeded up somewhat by using voice recognition software and foot pedals. The data in this research takes the form of the full transcription of the digital recordings of the 35 interviews. The data was stored as Word documents and subsequently transferred to the NVivo software package. How the data was organised and analysed is discussed below. In order to examine the discourses of STD in the WBR a structural Foucauldian analysis was used which follows that of Wodak and Meyer (2009). It incorporates several steps that can be related to the aims and objectives and is used to uncover the issues surrounding tourism as a development option, particularly notions of power, ideology and knowledge. The first step was to undertake the stakeholder analysis using the techniques outlined in chapter three. Stakeholder mapping and profiling were the first tasks in this process. Profiles and backgrounds of the stakeholders are important in CDA and this was carried out, examining their status, stakeholder group, socio-cultural and other relevant information. These profiles are referred to in the discourse analysis chapters as they affect their knowledge and ideological standpoints, both of which are central tenets to CDA. (see appendix 4 for these profiles). The stakeholders were given a code for anonymity purposes:

- Public sector – PS1-PS7
- Accommodation providers – AC1-AC13

- Other tourism-related businesses – BS1-BS5
- Land claimants – LC1-LC2
- Civil society representatives/individuals – CS1-CS8

Next, an analysis of whether the stakeholders are seen as active or passive in STD in the WBR was undertaken. This is a central part of the thesis as only those who are active in one or more element of STD (economy, society, environment) were included in the discourse analysis. Following this stakeholder power, interest and saliency were discussed. The stakeholder analysis can be seen in chapter six.

Once the stakeholder analysis had been undertaken, the discourses of the stakeholders were examined. This involved a number of stages. First, the text needs to be examined as a whole and the discourse strands and sub-strands identified. Discourse strands are “Flows of discourse that centre on a common topic... and are conceived of at the level of concrete utterances” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p46). This was carried out using NVivo which is used as a tool to link ideas, search for and explore patterns of data and ideas (Richards 1999). The discourses were grouped into a number of thematic areas. The data themes are an important element in organising data for subsequent analysis. The macro and micro contexts identified in chapters two, three and four were used to not only inform the questioning, but they were also used to organise the discourse data. For example data on the SD were categorised under the three pillars and also under the various principles relating to equity, futurity, participation and environment. Discourses on tourism were categorised under numerous themes and cross referenced with SD themes.

Second, the sub-strands under each strand were identified using the same technique. The entanglements of discourse strands were also identified. This is where one strand refers to a number of inter-related topics. For example when discussing a Waterberg as a place, notions of development including politics, economics or the environment may also be referred to. Still looking at the text as a whole, Huckin (1997) recommends, examining the perspective that is being presented. This involves angles, slants, or points of view and is

called 'framing.' For example, how one section of society sees other sections can be seen as a 'frame'. Third, discourse positions are also examined. These describe the ideological position from which subjects participate in and encompass their worldviews (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). This involves discourse positions on the environment, economics, development. For example, the neoliberal view of economics is a discourse position, as is a radical view of environmentalism.

Having examined discourse strands, frames and discourse positions, the next stage is to examine the more minute levels of analysis: sentence, phrases, and words. There are numerous CDA techniques to facilitate this level of analysis and Gee (2011) likens these to tools in a toolkit. The analyst uses various tools to examine the discourse depending on what is being analysed. The tools used include: topicalisation; connotation; modality; intertextuality; lexical analysis; semantic contrast and identity and ideology construction through pronoun use.

Topicalisation refers to the framing of a sentence and is essentially what the discourse is referring to. It can also involve omission and what is not being said. Insinuations can carry double meanings and again can lead to power in discourse as it involves the ability to deny any intention to mislead. Connotations can be assigned on the basis of the cultural knowledge of the participants and can be associated with one word, or through metaphors and figures of speech.

Modality refers to what should or ought to be done and again involves connotations of power, ideology and knowledge. The tone of the text is set with the use of specific words to convey the degree of certainty and authority (called modality). Intertextuality refers to the way a text relies on previous texts for its form and reference points (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). For example discourse on biospheres may refer to texts from the UN or the Brundtland Report as they involve SD. A lexical analysis refers to the actual words used and uncovers not only the subject of the discourse, but also the intended meaning. Related to this is semantic contrast. When analysing discourses,

speakers use semantic contrast to distinguish between different propositions or concepts, for example, rich/poor, black/ white etc. (van Dijk, 1985). The use of pronouns involves the construction of identity and ideology (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). How individuals refer to themselves and to others through pronouns can identify social groupings and distinct views of 'the Other'.

Context is also an essential component of CDA and this was analysed on the basis of two main aspects. First, the context relating to the macro and micro levels identified in the literature chapters was examined with regard to the discourses and second, that which relates to the individual's background. This examination of context in the discourse helps to uncover not just what is said, but how and why discourses emerge. To summarise, discourses always involves power and ideologies, and are connected to the past and the current context. They can be interpreted differently because they have different backgrounds and thus positionality and reflexivity of the researcher are important. Therefore, as with all social constructionist approaches, the 'correct' interpretation does not exist whereas a more or less plausible or adequate interpretation is likely (Fairclough, 1995).

The results of the discourse analysis were then correlated with the literature from chapters two to four. The thematic analysis was used focusing on the core themes of development and SD (chapter seven) and tourism as a development option, STD, knowledge, ideology and power (chapter eight). The whole case-study is then synthesised in chapter nine drawing on all the prevailing chapters to build up a picture of whether tourism is a sustainable development option in the WBR, drawing on appropriate conclusions where appropriate.

What this section has shown is that there are a number of data sources collected through primary and secondary sources. This data required synthesis and analysis in order to tease out the specific research topics which are pertinent to this research process. This process is represented in figure 5.2 below.

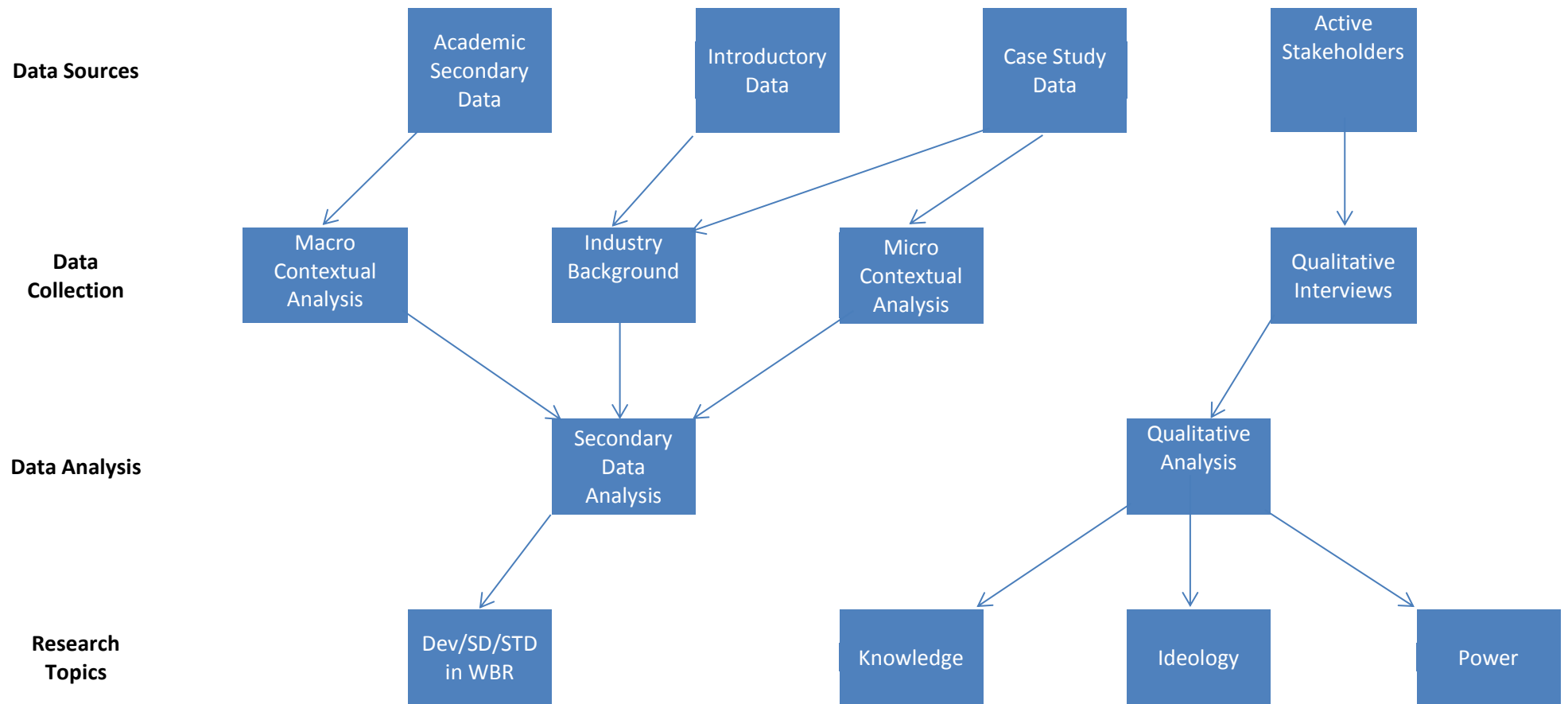


Figure 5.2: Relating data sources to research outputs (adapted from Phillips and Johns, 2012)

5.5 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues centre on the following four areas: whether there is harm to participants; whether there is a lack of informed consent; whether there is an invasion of privacy; whether deception is involved (Diener and Crandall, 1978).

With regard to the interviewees, risks were minimal, although it was recognised that being interviewed can be stressful, especially for those who are not used to participating in research studies. Merriam (2009) stresses the importance of putting interviewees at ease. This was done by asking first for information about the interviewee and then an introductory question such as 'Can you tell me about yourself?' This was done with the dual purpose of not only of relaxing the interviewee, but also of starting the process of gaining the rich data which this study requires. All interviewees will remain anonymous in the research and opinions of others will not be divulged. The results may be published in the public domain in journal articles and therefore the issues of anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained.

The interviewees were made fully aware of the nature of the research and how the interview would be carried out. All interviewees had the consent form explained to them. This process ensured that the interviewees were fully conversant with the aims of the research, that they understood what the research was for and that they could withdraw at any time. Deception in research can come from either the researcher or the researched. With regard to this research, respondents were informed of the truth of who I was, what the project was about and at no time were any of them misled about any aspects of the research. With regard to whether respondents deliberately gave false information is one of the problems of gathering qualitative data, but participants were given the opportunity to check interview transcripts for accuracy and while I cannot be certain they give the whole truth, there was no reason to believe that they would mislead me as the questions related to their opinions and confidentiality was stressed.

5.6 Limitations

While academic rigour has been strived for in the research process described in this methodology, it is recognised that all research approaches have limitations. The limitations of the whole project and CDA in particular are discussed in the conclusions chapter, however the methodological limitations are outlined below. While the notions of validity and reliability have been strived for, qualitative research is problematical and this research project has the following limitations. First, analysing discourses is a subjective process, and while objectivity is strived for it can be difficult to be truly objective in this kind of research. My positionality is of particular relevance here. As an 'outsider' who is an English academic this will not only affect my interpretations of the data, but also potentially affect the responses of the participants.

Second, temporal and spatial issues occurred with the research as only infrequent trips could be made to South Africa, therefore it was difficult to revisit interviewees and do follow up interviews. Email addresses were taken from the respondents and they were asked if they would object to follow up email or Skype interviews, to which they all agreed. This however proved unnecessary as the initial interviews covered the subject matter in sufficient depth.

Third, the sample was relatively small and therefore inferences from the sample are difficult to make for the whole population, particularly inferences outside the sample area. This relates to generalisability and is a distinct problem with qualitative research and it is not an objective of this thesis. There was an adequate mix between the relative interests and sectors in the initial tranche of interviews although it was recognised that the hunting industry was not adequately represented, therefore this balance was redressed in a subsequent visit to the region. Thus there was representativeness in the overall sample and while generalisability to all tourism destinations cannot be made, there are implications for both theory and practice which are discussed in the conclusions chapter.

Fourth, the role of the gatekeeper could be seen as a limitation. This individual is the WBRMC chair and thus who I was initially directed to potentially interview could be construed as a bias in the research. The snowballing technique was subsequently used as a way of minimising bias and some potential interviewees were rejected for interview because they did not fulfil the criteria of being active stakeholders in tourism development. All of these aspects influence my ability to have a truly objective approach and this is recognised as a potential limitation of the research. This is discussed in more detail in the conclusions chapter.

5.7 Chapter Summary

In order to achieve the aim and objectives this chapter has examined the theoretical perspectives, methodological considerations and methods used in this research project. The research aim and objectives were central considerations in choosing appropriate perspectives and methods. The phenomenological paradigm has been adopted with a constructivist epistemology, whereby the social world is a construct of both the researcher and the researched. A multi-method approach of data collection and analysis was carried out to ensure that crystallisation occurred. In total 35 interviews were carried out of active stakeholders in tourism development in the WBR. The overall approach to analysing the data is CDA and a background was given to this, discussing how it is used to analyse the main themes running through the thesis. These were used as the main elements in the analysis of the data, the results of which are synthesised against the literature identified in the first four chapters of this thesis. In order for a reflexivity to be taken into account, issues relating to validity, reliability, generalisability and ethics were considered.

Chapter 6- Stakeholder Analysis in the WBR

6.1 Introduction

The thesis so far has primarily been concerned with building up a picture of SD and STD and examining the context in which this case study operates. The second objective of this thesis relates to an examination of the discourses of active stakeholders concerning development, tourism development and sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve. In order to address this objective, a stakeholder analysis is carried out using the techniques identified in chapter three

As stated in the methodology chapter, primary research has been carried out in the form of a series of interviews related to active stakeholders in STD in the WBR. The next stage of the thesis is to synthesise the macro and micro perspectives from chapters two through to four with the primary research. The analysis in this and the following chapters is based around the core themes which run through this work, namely those of development, SD, tourism development, STD, stakeholder analysis, discourse, power, ideology and knowledge. Specifically, in order to examine the objectives relating to the discourses of the active stakeholders in STD, the main aim of this chapter is to undertake a stakeholder analysis, building up a picture of the active stakeholders and power regarding tourism development in the WBR. Stakeholder analysis discussed in chapter three is applied to the active stakeholders who were interviewed within the WBR. The analysis incorporates a number of stages which move from the general to a more detailed, specific analysis of individuals. First, the active stakeholders who have an interest in tourism in the WBR are mapped and their background is investigated, examining not only who they are, but their position, status and socio-cultural identity. Second, their role in being active stakeholders is examined along with their ability to influence the three pillars of STD. Third, stakeholder saliency is explored examining influence, power, legitimacy, urgency and institutional logics. Once this stakeholder analysis has been completed, a clearer picture emerges of which stakeholders are more active in STD and who has power in the WBR regarding STD and why. The following

chapter will then utilise this analysis to examine what these powerful, active stakeholders say regarding STD in the WBR.

6.2. Stakeholder Profiles

This section uses the interview data to build up stakeholder profiles of the active stakeholders. Some limited information on those interviewed is given in the methodology chapter and appendix 2 refers to who was interviewed and their main roles in the region. The categories used to group the stakeholders are: public sector employees; accommodation providers; other tourism-related business owners; land claimants and civil society individuals or representatives. While these categorisations are useful, they do not offer any further information, other than one of their main roles in society and to which group they have been assigned. Stakeholders can have multiple roles, but their roles alone do not influence discourses. The context behind each stakeholder influences their discourse, so in order to understand what is said, the possible reasons why they produce certain discourses needs examining. For example, demographic, cultural, political, social backgrounds and beliefs will play an important role in how individuals construct the world, thus affecting what they say and why they say such things on various topics and situations. While what they say regarding tourism development (the discourses) is discussed in the next chapter, the following section examines who they are in more depth, focusing on their role in society and other socio-cultural and ideological information which builds a more in-depth profile. The stakeholder profiles are in appendix 4. All the information included in the boxes in appendix 4 was gathered from the respondents and relates to their discourses.

One of the ways of undertaking a CDA is to frame the content of the text - in this case the interview (Paltridge, 2006). Framing allows rich data to be gathered on perspectives, slants and angles that speakers produce on subjects and is used in the following chapters to present these perspectives. When speaking about their lives, the discourses that emerge show that there are varying cultural, educational, work-life experiences that influence how they view the world. These differences can be quite stark, especially in education

levels where Masters and PhDs have been gained by some and only basic (matriculation) level education by others. Global mobility varied widely, with some respondents having lived and worked in numerous countries, while others have remained in the Waterberg region for much of their lives. For example:

“My whole career was in developing countries and development of one kind... One thing or another all over the Americas, all over Africa, all over elsewhere in the world, never anything specifically in tourism, I must say, or even... Occasionally environmental stuff but it was always a kind of a higher up policy rather than the nitty-gritty stuff. And, er, like I said earlier, once AC7 and I got together and we bought this piece of land I kind of threw myself into the horse safari business and so I’ve learnt a hell of a lot about that aspect of tourism and international marketing and what not. And somewhere along the way I was... Suddenly I’m chairman of the Waterberg Nature Conservancy.”
(CS1, 2010)

“Yeah, OK, so I was working in Australia in a World Heritage Area, and I was working with horses there and tourism. I’d have to change again completely, so I was keen to continue in a place that, where I could use the skills I’d learned. So we came and spent a week on a game reserve, really liked the place, loved the Waterberg, but really didn’t think that that was necessarily what we wanted to do. While we were there we met the Smiths and they invited us to the farm.”
(AC9, 2010)

The inference from these two quotes is that both respondents are globally mobile with their work and have specific skill sets that allow them to work around the world. Their ability to buy land and set up businesses means that they have financial independence and/or an ability to access finance. It is also apparent that they have become connected with influential organisations and people. All of these activities require distinct social skills, specific knowledge pertaining to business, finance, global opportunities and also a degree of risk-taking. Education levels and global mobility will potentially have an influence over their ideologies and on how they see the world, thus affecting their social constructions of the world.

The interviewees come from a variety of socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The public sector employees are predominantly black, South African while those in the private and not-for-profit sectors are mainly white, English-speaking and are from a variety of places including Southern Africa, Europe and the USA. This is not a reflection of the region as a whole as is shown in the micro context chapter, whereby the majority of the population are black, non-English speaking South African. Global and career mobility are not so evident with the black South Africans. The public sector employees are educated to higher education levels, but this has been achieved post-apartheid. Their education and careers have been much closer to home. The land claimants state that their education levels are very low and that they have not had a formal career, nor have they been particularly mobile. This reflects the historical and political context of this case study, particularly the apartheid system whereby formal education was limited to the majority black population.

The civil society representatives are also predominantly white and educated to post matriculation levels. For example, CS2 is a published environmentalist. A number of respondents referred to him as being a critical individual in the conservation movement in the region and in South Africa. He was also responsible for the establishment of the WNC, which pushed for the formation of the biosphere. The current chair of the WNC is a former USAID development consultant. One stakeholder who was put into this category was CS6, the chair of the WBRMC. He is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. He is a central character in this study as he has been the main driving force behind the WBR over the last few years. He has a PhD in Developmental Economics from Cambridge University which focuses on rural development in the Waterberg region. His family were some of the original white settlers in the region and are still major landowners and employers in the area. The stakeholder profiles are an important aspect of this thesis. As stated in the methodology, when constructing meaning, discourses are produced and reproduced through social interaction, shared meanings and representation. The interviewees are therefore drawing on their knowledge

which is influenced by their ideologies, influencing what they say and why they say it. These aspects are explored further in chapters seven and eight.

6.3 Stakeholder Influence

The stakeholder analysis techniques discussed in chapter three include that of influence, which in this case study relates to stakeholders having an ability to affect decisions regarding STD through power. Power issues are discussed in greater depth later in this chapter, however at this point stakeholder influence mapping is a useful tool which enables a better understanding of which groups influence concerns, problems or policies. The technique works by mapping stakeholders according to the size of their group, the degree of influence that they hold over the concern, and their relationships with each other. The stakeholder groups in this case are those interviewed and include: public sector officials; WBR Management Committee (WBRMC); accommodation providers; other local tourism businesses; civil society representatives/NGOs and land claimants. The WBRMC has been separated out as a distinct group as three of the interviewed stakeholders are in this group and they have a specific remit to influence development concerns in the WBR. Figure 6.1 below shows the groups. This mapping tool is based on the current situation. Influence is shown by the relative closeness of circles to the STD apex, the larger the stakeholder group the larger the circles, while the relative closeness of the circles reflects relationships between stakeholders.

While it is recognised that there is a degree of subjectivity in this technique, the following criteria were used to build up a picture of influence: an ability to influence tourism development; an ability to influence land-use and an ability to influence economic, social and environmental issues in the region.

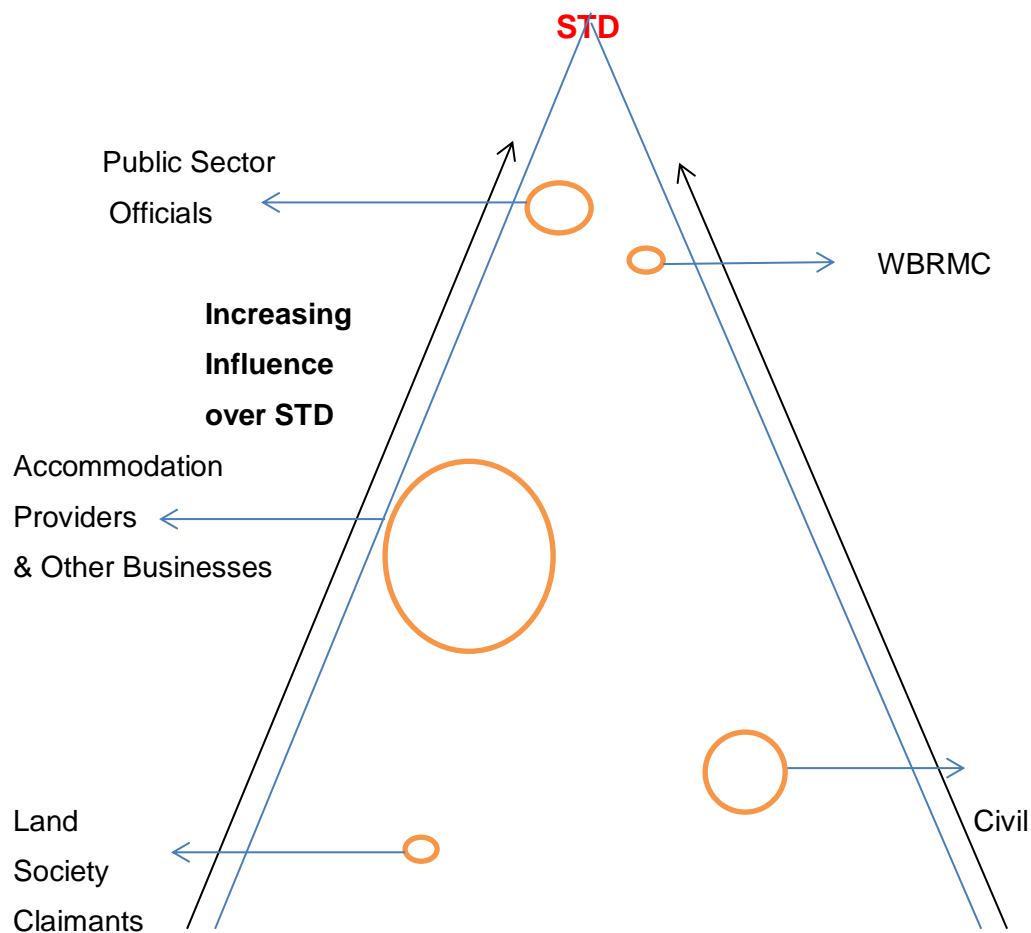


Fig 6.1: Stakeholder influence mapping, adapted from International Institute for Environment and Development (2005)

Using the criteria above, Figure 6.1 shows that the public sector officials and the WBRMC potentially have more influence than other stakeholder groups. These groups have a close relationship as they have both been heavily involved in the planning of the WBR, particularly in the Biosphere Management Plan (BMP). The private sector which includes the accommodation providers and the other tourism businesses have some degree of influence over STD, particularly landowners through their ability to affect employment levels in the region. Civil society and the land claimants have the least influence as they have limited ability to affect how tourism

develops in the region. The Waterberg Nature Conservancy (WNC) as a civil society organisation does have some influence and they will be discussed as a specific case in more detail later in the chapter.

6.4 Active and Passive Stakeholders

The primary research in this thesis focuses on the discourses of active stakeholders relating to tourism development. Determining these active stakeholders is part of the process in ascertaining who the powerful actors are and the extent to which tourism can contribute to SD in the area. The notion of active/passive stakeholders was identified in the introduction and expanded upon in chapter three. It was stated that those stakeholders who are classified as active are those who affect decisions or actions, while passive stakeholders are those who are affected. In this case-study, the decisions/actions relate to the three pillars of sustainability relating to STD. Identifying the active stakeholders helps to understand who has a greater say in affecting decisions that influence sustainability concerns. This analysis synthesises and applies the work on the three pillars of sustainability identified in chapter two with stakeholder mapping techniques identified in chapter three. The main aspects of the three pillars relating to STD are synthesised in table 3.1. The ability of the interviewed stakeholders to affect aspects of STD relating to each of the three pillars of sustainability is mapped in table 6.1 below, followed by more detailed explanations as to why the roles have been assigned.

It can be seen that all the stakeholders (bar the public sector intern PS6) have been or are active stakeholders in STD in the WBR. This means that the decisions they take or have taken, can or have actively influenced elements of the economic, societal or environmental sustainability of the region with respect to tourism development.

No. used in Text	Ability to affect economic aspects of STD	Ability to affect societal aspects of STD	Ability to affect environmental aspects of STD	Active/Passive in STD in WBR
Public Sector				
PS1	Active	Active	Active	Active
PS2	Active	Active	Active	Active
PS3	Active	Active	Active	Active
PS4	Active	Active	Active	Active
PS5	Active	Active	Active	Active
PS6	Passive	Passive	Passive	Passive
Accommodation Providers				
AC1	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC2	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC3	Active	Active	Active	Active
AC4	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
AC5	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
AC6	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
AC7	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC8	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC9	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC10	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC11	Active	Passive	Active	Active
AC12	Active	Active	Active	Active
AC13	Active	Passive	Active	Active
Land Claimants				
LC1	Passive	Active	Active	Active
LC2	Passive	Active	Passive	Active
Civil Society				
CS1	Active	Passive	Active	Active
CS2	Active	Active	Active	Active
CS3	Passive	Passive	Passive	Active

CS4	Active	Active	Passive	Active
CS5	Passive	Active	Passive	Active
CS6	Active	Active	Active	Active
CS7	Passive	Passive	Active	Active
CS8	Passive	Active	Passive	Active
Other Tourism Business				
BS1	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
BS2	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
BS3	Active	Passive	Active	Active
BS4	Active	Passive	Passive	Active
BS5	Passive	Passive	Active	Active

Table 6.1: Stakeholder identification - active/passive Roles

Those in the accommodation sector who own land within the WBR and use that land for tourism-related activities can influence what happens on the land thus affecting environmental sustainability in the area. The resource base for tourism in the WBR is centred on the natural environment. As identified in chapter three, resource base protection/conservation and environmental management all play a role in STD and this is discussed in more detail in chapter eight in relation to the discourses of the case-study. The landowners also have the ability to influence income and employment levels in the area, thus affecting economic sustainability. They can also affect the societal aspects relating to STD mentioned in table 3.1. To reiterate, these include: quality of life concerns; empowerment; stakeholder equity; community participation; protection of cultural heritage and authenticity; support for and continuation of identity; culture, local values and interests of indigenous peoples.

Those involved in civil society organisations such as the WNC are all landowners and act as a lobby group to local government particularly with regard to environmental concerns. The chair of the WNC (CS1), has had input into the WBR management plans and acts as a spokesperson for the organisation on planning concerns in the region. The director of Timothy House at the WWS through his position has the ability to be active in

development aspects relating to people in the Leseding Township, affecting both economic and social aspects regarding quality of life and empowerment concerns within the area.

The public sector employees, through their positions, all have the ability to affect the three aspects of STD. This is through the development and implementation of regional/local planning initiatives. Specifically they can ultimately affect planning decisions regarding what is developed, where, in what style and at what pace under the guidelines of planning legislation. They have all been involved in the environmental management framework (EMF) and the biosphere management plan (BMP) for the WBR. These guidelines incorporate the following: land use types; density of tourism beds; footprints for lodges; height, parking; impacts upon rivers and dams; vehicle densities; subdivisions; building lines and guidelines relating to heritage resources; pollution and EIA issues (Baber and Abram, forthcoming). These guidelines have been adopted by the local and district municipalities who deal with planning guidelines. All of these planning concerns affect STD in the WBR and hence those in the public sector can be said to be active in all areas that affect STD.

For the land claimants, they both have (albeit limited) ability to affect the various aspects of sustainability. They are passive participants in the development process in many ways. However, the claimants who have had their claim processed and who now have ownership of the land have the ability to affect what happens on that land, thus affecting environmental aspects relating to STD. The other claimants whose claim is on-going, while working very closely with the current landowners, cannot actively influence how the land is used, thus limiting their abilities as active stakeholders.

Categorisations on whether stakeholders can be seen as active and/or passive are role dependant. Stakeholders can have multiple roles, as Heikkila and Gerlak (2005) note. For example the Biosphere Reserve coordinator (CS7) plays an active role in tourism development through her role in the biosphere, but she is also a lodge owner (another active role) and she is also a member of the WNC (an active organisation). Sometimes these various

roles can lead to struggles and inconsistencies in attitudes, behaviours and positions (Sautter and Leisen, 1999). This is evident from BS5 who on the one hand wants to encourage tourism from an economic/business perspective, but from a personal perspective enjoys the peace and tranquillity of the Waterberg and tries to avoid tourists.

“The only reason I'd like to see more tourists is so that more people can have jobs and there is more money to spread amongst the poor people, the people who are really poverty stricken. But personally I prefer places where there aren't many tourists, even from my own point of view, that's a personal point of view.”

“We are doing it [the development] as a rural village which, we're not doing full township planning because, but it's a good system, it's costing a lot of money because we had to do huge environmental impact studies. At one stage we hope to have 12 houses on the church side and 12 houses on the other side.”
(BS5, 2012)

The analysis of whether stakeholders are active or passive in STD is fundamental to how tourism develops in the region and is one of the stages in determining who has power in tourism development. The next step in the stakeholder analysis is to examine these active stakeholders and ascertain who is more powerful and salient regarding STD

6.5 Stakeholder Power/Interest and Saliency

The concept of stakeholder saliency was introduced in chapter three. To recap, when examining groups of stakeholders in the development process an understanding of not only who the stakeholders are, but also their attributes (power, legitimacy and urgency is also required. In addition to this, institutional logics also influence stakeholder salience and it is these areas which are now examined with respect to the stakeholders who were interviewed.

6.5.1 Power/Interest

The following section utilises Johnson and Scholes' (1993) power/interest matrix, discussed in chapter three to classify the interviewed stakeholders in relation to the power they hold and the extent to which they show interest in

tourism development. Figure 6.2 below shows the power/interest matrix as described in chapter three with power relating to power in the tourism development process in the WBR. Interest relates to Schusser's (2012) interpretation of interest, namely that concerning behaviour, that is; action orientation regarding STD. In terms of the power/interest of the interviewees, there are a number of key players (high power and interest), the majority of whom are in the public sector as through their actions they dictate land-use planning which is at the core of destination sustainability (Kytzia, Walz and Wegmann, 2011).

LEVEL OF INTEREST

		Low	High
POWER	Low	Minimal Effort PS5 LC1,2 BS1,2,3,4,5 CS3,5 AC1,4,5,6,7,9,11,13	Keep Informed AC2,3,8,10, CS1,2,4,7,8
	High	Keep Satisfied	Key Players PS1,2,3,4,5 CS6 AC12

Figure 6.2: Power/interest matrix of interviewees

The chair of the biosphere (CS6) and also the acting CEO of Game Reserve 1 (AC12) are seen as key players, the former due to his influence over biosphere planning guidelines, environmental management frameworks and

spatial development plans and the latter because of level of influence over the reserve's strategic direction. Due to the scale of the reserve, its influence over its neighbours and the ability to affect the economic, social and environmental sustainability of the WBR, the role of CEO is a powerful one in the region. For example, there is a commitment to dropping fences to create larger contiguous areas in which game can roam, thus affecting land-use in the area. Creating these contiguous areas of land is imperative to ensure that ecosystems function in a more natural state. It is only those powerful stakeholders that have the knowledge and ability to achieve this movement towards the creation of more open reserves.

There are a number of stakeholders that also have high levels of interest in the WBR through their actions, but whose power is limited. According to Mendelow's matrix, these stakeholders need to be kept informed of developments. This group includes members of the WNC (AC2; AC8; AC10; CS1) and also the founder of the WBR who is still active in conservation in the region (CS2). Also included in this category is a committee member of the WBR (CS8) and one accommodation owner who is also developing new solar technology which has implications for sustainable energy use and job creation within the biosphere (AC3).

It is the natural landscape that was one of the fundamental rationales for the creation of the WBR through the members of the WNC. The initial idea was mooted in 1982 by CS2, a long-standing conservationist, but it was not until June 1990 that the constitution was adopted (Waterberg Nature Conservancy, 2012). This period was during the 1980s and were the final years of apartheid, Mandela being released in February 1990 and the country entering a turbulent and potentially perilous period. While they had seemingly altruistic motives for the conservation and promotion of the natural environment in the Waterberg region, it must also be recognised that they were all white land-owners with a vested interest in not just protecting land for conservation issues, but also for economic ones. The WNC members therefore deserve a specific mention as they have a high level of interest in what happens in the Waterberg as they are all landowners. CS2 was the main driving force behind the organisation

and past chairs include AC8 and AC2, while CS1 is the current chair. This reinforces the work of Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) who examine how stakeholders that have similar belief systems are more likely to form coalitions with distinct ideologies. The discourses and associated power are examined in greater depth in chapter eight, however at this point they need to be recognised as an influential group in the WBR.

Within this case study there are no stakeholders who fall into the category of 'keep satisfied' – having high power, but low interest. There are other stakeholders within the WBR who fall into this category, but are not directly related to tourism development. The Land Claims Committee could fall into this classification as they have a considerable influence over how land is distributed within the WBR, but have little involvement in how that land is used.

The final group of stakeholders are those categorised as 'minimal effort'. These individuals have low levels of power regarding STD and also through their actions low interest. This category includes the land claimants (LC1,2), those who have tourism-related businesses (BS1-5), accommodation providers who are not in the WNC and who either manage properties or who have relatively small pieces of land (AC1,3,5,6,7,9,11,13). There are also those who are in civil society in this group who indirectly have an involvement in tourism, but whose actions and power are limited regarding tourism development (CS3; CS4; CS5).

6.5.2 Stakeholder Saliency

Categorising stakeholders into the above groups is a useful start in identifying power situations in the WBR regarding STD. As stated in chapter three, when examining stakeholder saliency, the analysis not only examines power, but the other attributes of legitimacy and urgency both of which are influenced by institutional logics. The following section examines these areas along with institutional logics. The analysis and categorisation is based on the work by Currie, Seaton and Wesley (2009) who also categorise numerous tourism

stakeholders using Mitchell et al's model. Table 6.2 below shows the saliency of the stakeholders using the attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency.

Stakeholder Category	Saliency Attributes			WBR Stakeholder Saliency
	Power	Legitimacy	Urgency	
<i>Latent Stakeholders</i>				
Dormant	√			AC5, CS5
Discretionary		√		
Demanding			√	
<i>Expectant stakeholders</i>				
Dominant	√	√		AC1,2,3,4,6,7,8,9, 10,11,13, CS1,2,3,4,7,8, LC1,2, BS1,2,3,4,5
Dangerous	√		√	
Dependent		√	√	
<i>Definitive stakeholders</i>				
Definitive	√	√	√	PS1,2,3,4,5,CS6, AC12 PS6
Non-stakeholder				

Table 6.2: Stakeholder saliency of WBR stakeholders

Latent stakeholders

The latent stakeholders only have one attribute of power, legitimacy or urgency. As Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) state, the significant aspect regarding discretionary stakeholders is that as they lack both power and urgency. Within the stakeholders who were interviewed, there are two discretionary stakeholders who possess the attribute of legitimacy, but not that of power or urgency. Their legitimacy stems from them either having businesses or being resident in the area, but not currently working in the region, or involved in education. This group includes AC5 who is resident in the WBR, but has just secured employment in the accommodation industry in another region and CS5, who is involved in education with the Waterberg

Academy. The curriculum at the Waterberg Academy includes tourism and sustainable development in the region and while governors may have an influence behind the school's ethos and what is taught, making governors legitimate stakeholders, they lack both the power and the urgency to make them expectant stakeholders.

Expectant Stakeholders

The group of expectant stakeholders includes those categorised as 'dependant stakeholders' as they possess both legitimacy and urgency, but not power (Mitchell, Agle and Wood, 1997). While they may have a minor role to play in STD in the region, they depend on others for the power necessary to really affect developmental outcomes in tourism. Power is therefore predominantly exercised through the definitive stakeholders who are mentioned below. This group of dependent stakeholders encompasses the majority of those interviewed, including nearly all those in the accommodation sector, both land claimants and most of the civil society and other tourism related business categories. On analysing the interviews and also evaluating their roles, it can be argued that they all have a legitimate stake in STD in the region, but that they also hold the attribute of urgency. The desire to develop tourism for many in the private sector is crucial as economic sustainability is dependent on tourist numbers. The issue of sustainable development and particularly land-use in STD is both important and time critical to some extent. The Waterberg Situational Analysis Report: Waterberg Management Plan (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011) identifies that the current scheme of land-use management is a significant issue throughout the Limpopo Province as zoning schemes only exist for most of the formally proclaimed towns in the province. They state that there is an urgent need for land-use management systems to be implemented for all municipal areas. These aspects are discussed from the active stakeholder perspectives in chapter eight.

Other issues in the WBR are also quite pressing and time-sensitive such as that of employment and training, particularly among the youth in Leseding. Employment issues and particularly skills development were mentioned by a number of interviewees (AC4, 6, 7, 8, 2010). The director of Timothy House at

the WWS (CS4) has a direct relationship and influence over young people's lives and their education and training. There are schemes in these areas with which the WBR and the WWS have become increasingly involved (CS4; CS6, 2010). It is these aspects that make him a dependent stakeholder.

Definitive Stakeholders

The final group of stakeholders can be characterised as 'definitive' as they possess all three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency regarding STD in the WBR. Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) argue that these definitive stakeholders will have some formal procedure in place that acknowledges the importance of their relationship with the concern (power and legitimacy) but they will also have an immediate mandate to attend to the issue, in this case tourism as a development option in the WBR. The stakeholders who can be categorised as 'definitive' include the public sector officials (PS1-5), the WBRMC chair (CS6) and the acting CEO of Game Reserve 1 (AC12). This list is the same as that identified in the power/interest matrix for similar reasons outlined above, although urgency has been included as an additional attribute. These definitive stakeholders therefore are the most salient when it comes to STD.

The acting CEO of Game Reserve 1 has all three attributes; power and legitimacy due to being able to affect the strategic direction of 38,000ha of land, currently in a buffer zone in the WBR, with plans in the 2013 expansion to move it into a core zone, thereby increasing its significance in the region. The attribute of urgency relates to a desire for economic development through tourism and a desire for environmental management and protection:

"I mean Game Reserve 1 is a big role-player, and that's one of the aims of Game Reserve 1 is not just centralised conservation and things we're doing in Game Reserve 1, we want to make an impact for different things, for research and for conservation in general and obviously the area surrounding us makes a, you know, we want to be role players in those spheres. We want to do this expediently and engage with numerous other interested parties."
(AC12, 2010)

The role of the public sector in the planning and management of tourism destinations is discussed in chapter four. As active stakeholders, the public sector official's power is based on their legal authority over planning in the area. Since the introduction of the EMF and the BMP, their ability to affect sustainable planning in the WBR should, in theory, be enhanced. The stakeholder profiling in appendix four also highlights that they are educated to at least undergraduate level from universities in South Africa in subjects such as planning and development studies.

The EMF for the Waterberg District was carried out by South African consulting companies who specialise in environmental consulting. The BMP was also carried out by consultants specialising in tourism master plans in conjunction with the WBRMC chair (CS6). When all of these factors are synthesised, it could be argued that power over tourism development is in the hands of the few who have Western notions of development as discussed in chapters two and four. It could be argued that these professionals have what Peet (2002) describes earlier as Western ideologies relating to development. There was consultation for these processes, particularly the EMF, which involved numerous public, private and civil society representatives with big business, notably the mining and electricity industries being prominent. To describe the consultative process as 'bottom-up', which is a critical aspect of STD identified in the literature, could be a misnomer, as while there was consultation, it was with a limited number of individuals and organisations who representing their own vested interests, with an emphasis being on larger organisations. On examining the issues that came out of the EMF consultative process, they related mainly to the state of infrastructure, crime and inadequate enforcement and of legislation by local and district governments (Environomics and NRM Consulting, 2010). These plans have come into operation as a result of certain individuals driving the process, most notably the WBRMC chair, CS6. The EMF has had to be adopted by law. In addition, the BMP has also been adopted by the Waterberg District Council, and according to Baber and Abram (forthcoming) these planning documents have already started to prove effective in guiding development at the district municipality level. They state that planning officials who previously approved

a number of dense residential developments in the WBR have indicated that if such spatial planning frameworks had been available at the time, many of their decisions would have been different. This also emphasises their power and how they can affect sustainability in the region.

The chair of the WBRMC (CS6) is a definitive stakeholder for a number of reasons. The legitimacy of this stakeholder comes from his role as the WBRMC chair and also head of one of the sub-committees – Finance, Funding, Marketing and Tourism. He has been actively involved in the strategic, operational and administrative functions in the WBR for a number of years. He has also been instrumental in the EMF process and is a co-author of the WMP. He has bid for and won European Union grants to fund the Meander projects, secured government grants to develop a skills development project in the Leseding community and been involved in a number of smaller projects involving conservation and education. His own education is a PhD in Developmental Economics from Cambridge University. His family are major landowners in the Waterberg and settled the land in the late 1800s. He is partner in a horse-riding ecotourism business, runs a commercial farm, and also an economic-based consulting company. His wife set up and manages a craft manufacturing and retail centre, while other family members are major landowners and active in agriculture, property development, tourism and alternative energy sources. All of these factors make him a central figure in development generally and tourism development specifically in the Waterberg. His views regarding development have also been shaped by these factors, particularly his education and his family ties. His discourses relating to STD will be explored in the following chapters, although at this point it is worth noting that while he is passionate about the future of the WBR, his motives are not totally altruistic and other stakeholders have some issues and concerns regarding his control of power and his motives. There have been accusations of nepotism, particularly regarding funded projects whereby family members benefit more than others involved in the schemes (CS3, 2010). This is discussed further in chapter eight, where the role of CS6 will be examined in more detail. However, at this juncture, it is worth noting that this stakeholder has been able to achieve power through his

status in the region, his ability to claim resources and the symbols of power (land ownership and education levels). These were all identified in the literature in chapter three as critical in determining powerful stakeholders (Johnson, Scholes and Whittington, 2011).

Institutional Logics

As was shown in chapter three, to further develop a stakeholder analysis, Mitchell et al (2011) argue that institutional logics affect the ideological beliefs, values and therefore the outcomes of behaviour. The various stakeholder categories will have differing institutional logics which can affect how they view STD and also influence their actions and discourses. The main institutional logics associated with the stakeholder groupings are listed in table 6.3 below. The institutional logic categories have been synthesised from a number of authors who have assessed their role in various studies ²¹ along with an additional number relevant to this case study.

Private sector discourses resonate around economic concerns of markets, profit, customers and business orientated involvements in marketing, product delivery and human resources. Many of the owners/managers mention that staff and their skill levels as being of particular relevance to them. The low skill levels in the area for many of the population are cited as a particular problem and that the private sector see themselves as being responsible for training and skill development. The interviewees were all committed to their businesses and these institutional logics are relevant to them as a group. As many of the interviewees were business owners, notions of status, family relationships, altruism, and transgenerational sustainability were mentioned which concurs with the findings of the literature on family firms and institutional logics (Mitchell et al, 2011). One prevalent discourse from the interviewees was that of environmental protection. Nearly all recognised that for tourism as an industry to be successful, environmental management and protection, with a particular emphasis placed on land-use and resource use.

²¹ Numerous authors have assessed the role of institutional logics which have been utilised in the table above. *Mitchell et al (2011); **Long and Matthews (2011); ***Chrisman et al (2012); +Mullins (2006)

This could be due to the questioning, or the type of business ownership, but it needs to be included as an institutional logic for the private sector in this case study and specific discourse pertaining to this are discussed in the following chapter.

The civil society organisations will have a variety of institutional logics, dependent on their area of involvement (Mitchell et al, 2011). The organisations with which interviewees are involved are:

- Waterberg Nature Conservancy (WNC) – conservation, education, research and upliftment objectives.
- Waterberg Welfare Society (WWS) – HIV/Aids support network, youth empowerment.
- Waterberg Academy (WA) – primary through to high school education.
- Waterberg Biosphere Reserve (WBR) – conservation, economic development & logistics.
- Komotsogo Crafts (KC) – employment, empowerment of women, cultural integration.
- Telekishi Community Tourism Project (TCTP) – cultural and economic development, cultural integration.

The land claimants, while not specifically related to any organisations and/or institutions have their own behaviours and actions that centre on a desire for social and economic advancement, but there is also a realisation that the environment is an important issue regarding the land they have claimed or are claiming (LC1, LC2, 2010)

Stakeholder Group	Institutional Logic	Relevant Stakeholders
Public Sector	Law* Welfare* Power* Environmental protection Socio-economic development	PS1-PS5
Accommodation Providers	Utilitarian* –Profit -Customer service Normative - Socio-emotional wealth* - Altruism* - Status* - Family relationships ** -Transgenerational sustainability*** - Environmental concerns	AC1-13
Land Claimants	-Social and economic development - Cultural identity -Transgenerational sustainability	LC1-2
Civil Society individuals or representatives	Conservation Empowerment Philanthropy Community development Not-for-profit Egalitarianism Accountability+	CS1-8
Other Tourism related Business Stakeholders	As per Accommodation providers	BS1-5

Table 6.3: Stakeholder groups and institutional logics

The public sector institutional logics include law, welfare, power, environmental protection and socio-economic development for all communities. While these are all laudable, they are not without problems.

There are numerous socio-economic problems within the district with high unemployment rates and many of the population lacking basic skills. All these discourse areas are explored further in the next chapter.

Institutional logics affect belief systems and behaviour, as does the context in which they operate, and in South Africa's case the subjects of apartheid, race and oppression are never far from the surface. The South African government's approach to development has been one primarily influenced by neoliberalism with an emphasis on macroeconomic policies and decentralisation (Bek, Binns and Nel, 2004). At the local level, concerns about service delivery, corruption, ability of officials to perform their duties, affirmative action and management and leadership were mentioned by a number of the interviewees. These issues are discussed and analysed in greater detail in the following chapter, however for the purposes of the stakeholder analysis in this chapter it is worth noting that while the institutional logics of the public sector should concern the public good, the context at national, provincial and local levels are not that clear cut.

6.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter's objective was to build up a picture of who the stakeholders are and who has power in STD in the WBR. Two of the main thesis themes of active stakeholders and power have therefore been examined. All the stakeholders interviewed, with the exception of one intern, are or have been active in STD in the WBR. Stakeholder profiles are developed, showing that many active stakeholders, particularly in the private sector, are white, educated and have access to numerous resources. Some have organised themselves into groups such as the WNC for a variety of reasons including environmental protection, self-interest and to some extent, altruism. The analysis has shown that some stakeholders are more powerful and salient than others when it comes to affecting these three pillars of sustainability. Power comes from position, status, the ability to claim resources and the symbols of power. The public sector officials, the WBRMC chair and the acting CEO of Game Reserve 1 reserve were identified as having the three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency, thus making them salient in STD

within the WBR. The context within which the STD occurs is also an important theme which will also be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Chapter nine synthesises these salient points with the stakeholder discourses of STD which are analysed in the next two chapters.

Chapter Seven - Discourses of Development and Sustainable Development

7.1 Introduction

The issue or problem which this thesis examines relates to the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable development within the WBR. This is achieved through examining core themes both in the literature and in the data analysis. Using these themes, the following two chapters examine the second objective which is: to examine the discourses of active stakeholders concerning development, tourism development and sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve.

The structure of these two chapters follows that of the literature-base chapters. First, the macro themes of the discourses of development are examined followed by the discourses of SD. In order to address whether tourism development can contribute to SD in the region, it is first necessary to understand what development problems need to be addressed in the area and how the active stakeholders see SD. First, the main development concerns in the WBR are examined which relates to the literature on chapter two regarding 'the problem of development'. The discourses of the active stakeholders are related to the main development paradigms to uncover which approach to development stems from these discourses. Second, the next main theme examined in the literature is SD and the conceptual and pragmatic aspects of the concept. The discourses of the active stakeholders are then discussed against these features of SD. As was shown in chapter two, SD is a contested term and therefore the various approaches to and positions of SD are discussed in relation to the discourses. The following chapter relates to the next major theme of tourism as a development option and examines whether it is a SD development option in the WBR. The major themes which run throughout this thesis of power, ideology and knowledge are examined in both chapters, but issues of power are synthesised in chapter eight, focusing specifically on STD in the WBR.

The CDA approach in this case study uses a thematic analysis of the emergent discourses and a number of CDA tools are used where appropriate to analyse the data. These tools include topicalisation, connotation, modality, intertextuality, lexical analysis, semantic contrast and identity and ideology construction through pronoun use. These were explained in the methodology chapter. The analytical themes are outlined in table 7.1 below which also shows where these are discussed in this and the subsequent chapter.

Thesis Theme	Sub-theme	Section
Development Paradigms	Development and people	7.2.1
	Identity, culture and development	7.2.2
	Infrastructure development	7.2.3
	Educational concerns	7.2.4
Sustainable Development	Futurity	7.3.1
	Environment	7.3.2
	Public participation	7.3.3
	Equity	7.3.4
	Approaches to and positions of SD	7.3.5
Tourism as a Development Option	Tourism as economic driver	8.2.1
	The tourism product in the WBR	8.2.2
	Appropriate/inappropriate tourism	8.3.3
	Government control of tourism development	8.3.4
Power and STD	Groups and power in the WBR	8.3.1
	Individuals and power	8.3.2.

Table 7.1: Analysis themes and sub-themes

7.2 Discourses of Development Paradigms in the WBR

One of the core themes in this thesis is the macro context in which development occurs and the notion of development paradigms which underpin development. The literature chapters highlight the dominant paradigms post World War II and this section examines the discourses of the active stakeholders regarding development in the WBR. In order to examine

the development paradigms, the line of questioning was centred on how the active stakeholders saw a number of development related topics. On synthesising the data a number of specific discourse strands emerge including development and people, land, infrastructure and education. The questioning examines the key issues or concerns within the WBR and then after a discussion of these issues, the analysis discusses how they are positioned regarding the development paradigms. The questioning on development and the particular issues within the WBR was to gain the individuals understanding of subjects as *they* viewed them (an emic view) rather than definitions being given to them (an etic view).

7.2.1 Development and People

It was shown in chapter four that the Waterberg region is a predominantly rural area with only one main town, Vaalwater and an adjoining township of Leseding. When questioned about development concerns in the area regarding local populations, the discourses were focused on the black majority who are predominantly living on low incomes, many of which are unemployed and living in poor quality housing. This separation was emphasised by PS3:

“I've always told people, and I've normally said this, look at the physical structure if you like of the area, the mountain plateau, it's more an area where predominantly the white people stay, **commercial farming and tourism**, some form of **good life** is around this area, but it's in the Waterberg. But just a few kilometres down the mountain there are a lot of people who are **unemployed** who are **illiterate**, who are **underdeveloped** and a lot of them are **frustrated**, but they are in the same area of the Waterberg.”
(PS3, 2010)

There is a semantic contrast in the discourse, the blue highlighted discourse reflects the white's position, that they are involved in commerce and have a good life, while the words in red relate to the black majority population. Other discourses emerging from the data use language related to the black population which includes 'upliftment' (PS5; AC5; AC6; AC10, 2010), 'lack of opportunity' (CS2; CS3; CS4; LC2, 2010) and 'underdevelopment' (PS3; CS1;

AC3; AC8, 2010). The discourse surrounding 'underdevelopment' is a divided view of society, emphasising that there is a separation between the modern and the traditional. The theory surrounding modernisation and underdevelopment is that the former can 'cure' the latter. With high unemployment rates, especially amongst the young and the township of Leseding growing continually, the need for skills development is seen as paramount. The lack of education, training and skills for many in the Waterberg which leads to high levels of unemployment is seen as by some active stakeholders as a problem that needs fixing as it has repercussions for the region and the country. The development of those communities who are economically disadvantaged is a common theme. One public sector official summarised:

"We are also looking at the local communities at grassroots level, especially those that have claimed land, whose land has the **potential** for tourism development, to receive adequate **support** for the **development of structures for human development** in terms of **skills** and in **other spheres**. So that not only those that are in areas within the district can **benefit** from tourism, but also those who are everywhere, that they can **benefit** and have **improvement** in their lives."
(PS5, 2010)

The highlighted words are a discourse of development as progress and relates to development as modernisation. If 'improvement' is to come for the land claimants and others at the lower end of the economic spectrum, then they need help, support, structures, all implications that development does not necessarily come from within, but is a top-down process. For one respondent:

"It's poor but impoverished folks, their **numbers must be growing**, I don't know what they are, um, and... And they **aren't being trained** and skilled and educated well and they are ultimately, er, taking on an **entitlement aspect** with... with **monthly grants** that people get. All that adds up to a... all over the country it adds up to an **awful lot of, er, resources**.
"
(CS1, 2010)

The emergent discourse (negative associated words in bold) is that if people are given skills and trained, they will be able to find jobs and become

economically productive. This reductionist argument is prevalent from a number of the respondents (PS3; AC3; AC8; AC10, 2010). There is a distinct lack of opportunity for employment within the region, so it is not necessarily the case that education and up skilling will lead to significant economic development. The connotation is that the poor are a problem that they need developing and a process of economic and social upliftment is required. The fact that CS1 states that their numbers are growing relates to one of a number of contexts: that there is population growth among the poor; that the township of Leseding is increasing in size; or that there is economic migration to the area. All three are possible and potentially it is one, two or all three of these factors that lie behind his views. The statement that the poor use up a lot of 'resources' has a number of inferences: that it is economic resources being referred to; that these resources could be better employed elsewhere and that it is a problem that needs remedial action.

It is not just upliftment that is seen to be required for those out of work. The discourses of the private sector owners and managers all mention skills development and upliftment in the context of understanding the expectations and standards in the workplace, especially in tourism.

“Our housekeeper, you imagine a housekeeper she comes from the location, she’s probably got a bare floor and a house and you know, it’s a simple shack. Now she’s got to make beds and a five star lodge the room has got to look perfect, it’s all training. Attention to detail and I think that doesn’t happen here enough is the training of staff, I really don’t. It’s the uplifting of the population **we’ve** got here to make **them** realise that, you know, what **you’re** doing is beneficial for the business which means the business is going to make some money which means, hey **you** might get a pay rise at the end of the year. It’s all the way through training, training, training because without that it’s not going to work, especially at the top end of the market.”
(AC5, 2010)

There are a number of features of this discourse. The first is the contrast between the lives of the poor and the standards in the 5 star, up-market tourism industry. Skills development and training are mentioned, but when

examining the pronoun use (in bold), there are also power relationships at work. The phrase '**we've** got here to make **them** realise' that upliftment is beneficial is a discourse that positions the (rich and white) employer against the (poor and black) employee. It is also a development discourse akin to postcolonialism, that the dominant, Western way of behaving and working is superior. Power is discussed in depth in the next chapter, but it is evident throughout this analysis and particularly in this discourse which relates to the post-colonial view of Bhabha (1992) of the hegemonic normality of discourses relating to the poor.

Some participants went into specific reasons as to why they believe that South Africa and the Waterberg area have particular development concerns. These reasons relate to the social, cultural, political and historical context of the case study and are related to the legacy of apartheid and how different communities see each other. This is discussed in the next section.

7.2.2 Identity, Culture and Development

A central tenet of CDA involves issues concerning how cultures and different groups are constructed. For the respondents, how they frame 'the Other' involves a number of social concerns involving race, power and social relations underpinned by ideological stances. This section examines these issues in relation to the discourses of the interviewees. People tend to identify themselves with their own social groupings (Self) and place themselves in opposition to other social groupings (Other) (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Thus identity and role are key themes in examining the discourses of culture and involve ideological stances from individuals or groups.

The private sector individuals who were interviewed are split fairly equally male/female, are all white, predominantly over 45 years old and from Southern Africa, Europe or the United States. In a number of conversations, with these individuals, the subject of race and/or culture emerges regarding development concerns with distinct framing and positioning of 'the Other'.

“The politically correct thing is to **blame** it [lack of economic development] on colonialism and this and that, but it really doesn't wash, it doesn't explain how South Korea had all those problems times 20 and all of those nations had, China with what it's been through, and yet they've grown, but South Africa has **stagnated**. For example I was in Uganda at independence and I was **stunned** at what was there and everything has just gone **downhill**. I think there's a cultural issue and the more you live here, and the more you talk to people and try and understand how the mind works, there are huge cultural **problems** which **mitigate** against economic development. While that's politically incorrect, it's true. The whole issue of planning is a huge, huge issue, it's **bizarre** how **difficult** it is to structure planning. There are huge cultural issues which are to do with a successful economy, that the Africans seem to **struggle** with and they can't seem to get their head around.”

(AC3, 2010)

A lexical analysis of the text above reveals the use of words with negative connotations such as ‘blame’, ‘stagnated’, ‘stunned’, ‘downhill’, ‘problems’, ‘mitigate’, ‘struggle’ and ‘bizarre’. AC3 talks of the ‘Africans’ as one people with Ugandans and black South Africans as a single culture. This is a post-colonial discourse which homogenises Africans (Darby, 1997). There is also an attitude of cultural superiority. He states that while this may be politically incorrect, it is ‘the truth’. The question therefore arises – which truth? In this case it could be argued that it is an ideologically-based truth for this individual, linked to post-colonialism and a view that economic development is both necessary and culturally bound. The blame for economic underdevelopment is put at the door of the Africans due to the view that they cannot plan. The phrase ‘successful economy’ has modernisation, post-colonial and neoliberal undertones. The economic perspective prevails as does the economic superiority of other cultures which have advanced economically. Another explanation for some of South Africa’s economic problems was stated by another accommodation owner:

“I’m going to say something also politically sort of incorrect is that there’s... There’s been a bad attitude post-democracy of, **we** are owed, give **me**, you owe **me** now, instead of, you know, kind of learning how to compete in the, in the workplace and learning how to conduct oneself in what the... You know, what the correct things to do and, you know.”

(AC7, 2010)

While not specifically stating who is being talked about, the use of the pronouns of 'we', 'me' and 'you' are implicitly stated with the 'we' and 'me' referring to the poor, black population and the 'you' suggesting the rich, whites. The use of these pronouns allows the speaker to declare their identity. Again, there is a cultural superiority in the discourse, that there is a correct way to conduct oneself at work and the black population do not know how to do this.

Offering a different perspective, one of the black public-sector managers from LEDET spoke of one specific section of the white population, the Afrikaans:

“The Afrikaans people, some of them are still holding back, but their children are more involved. That life is mostly in farms, the white person is a white person and the black person is a black person, just go to work and do what the farmers tell them what to do and that is it you know. Some might just see blacks as people that they can use to get something and they are not really interested in changing the lives of black people.”
(PS3, 2010)

There is a distinct framing of 'the Other' in PS3's discourse. As a community the Afrikaans people who lived through apartheid have not moved on from these days, seeing the black population as a purely economic resource, although the younger generation may be different. A similar positioning of the Afrikaans community is also mentioned by some of the South African and European white interviewees (CS7; AC3; AC9; AC10, 2010). Some individuals state that the barriers between communities and cultures are being broken down (CS4; CS5; AC4; AC9, 2010). There are distinct power relationships apparent in the discourses and these are rooted in the social and historical contexts relating to South Africa. For example, those people who lived through the apartheid system will potentially have a very different world-view of the current generation.

“The majority of the 48 million people of the country they live in rural villages, the education system and the facilities and resources are still the same as 1974 in many instances.

Access to information and new technology and changes, is still very minimal.

It is just the general history of the area it says that the country has been ruled by white people, who have in the majority **humiliated** black people and whatever culture or anything that black people has been **downplayed** or **not appreciated**, now you see in that history we have been educated to feel we are **lesser human beings**, is a history that has been there for some time. Now for that feeling of **insufficiency** compared to the white people, it's people who have being **oppressed**, it's not a negative attitude per se, but it's a whole system of education to feel **undermined** and accept that it is in my black nature to be **insufficient and undermined**. “

(PS3, 2010)

The framing of the black population is clearly evident in this discourse (in bold). In CDA, frames which are held by members of a group are known as an *archive* (Bloor and Bloor, 2007) and in this context, the black population clearly have an archive with strong connotations. This discourse shows that there is a distinct framing of ‘Self’ and ‘the Other’, both from black and white perspectives. As Bloor and Bloor (2007) state, it is in the interests of the dominant group to have the subjected group accept their position as an ideological imperative. Power structures were institutionalised during apartheid, but the legacy of this system, as represented in these discourses is far from over. Dominance is still being reproduced through language, resulting in social inequality. The structures of ideologies suggests that representations are often articulated along a dimension which recognises ‘us’ using positive terms, versus ‘them’ using negative terms (van Dijk, 1998). These negative terms are clearly evident in this discourse, although here they relate to PS3’s culture, the black population. The legacy of apartheid is apparent in this discourse and the racist discourses which prevailed during this period, the legacy of which is still being felt today. It is a discourse rooted in post-colonialism and structuralist dependency oriented duality models. It is a cultural representation of the hegemonic normality to uneven development and the disadvantaged black population (Bhabha, 1992). PS3 states that these views of the black population are still continuing. It could be argued that the above quote from a black, well-educated senior public-sector official shows that the South African cultural and political context has considerable

bearing on how development is viewed by not just the public sector, but local communities and the business community.

7.2.3 Infrastructure Development

One of the dominant discourses to emerge from the interviewees is that there are numerous concerns regarding the development of infrastructure in the area. These involve transport, utilities and telecommunications at local and regional levels. The township of Leseding exemplifies these problems and is continually growing with migrants moving in from Somalia, Zimbabwe and other areas of South Africa, even though the basic amenities of housing, roads and utilities are lacking (CS4, 2010). The state of the roads in the area also comes in for much criticism, particularly the minor roads (AC5; AC8; BS4, 2010). The link between infrastructure development and sustainable development was recognised by some respondents, particularly those in the public sector:

“If our roads aren't maintained, you won't reach your end destination, you won't be able to continue with sustainable development in the destination, if there is no water, it won't continue.”
(PS4, 2010)

The responsibility for the planning, development and maintenance of essential infrastructure is seen by the interviewees as being with government. Another of the major infrastructural concerns is water, both in Leseding where water occasionally runs out and has to be shipped in, and also in the wider region which has implications for development (CS5, 2010). The water issues in Vaalwater and Leseding are highlighted by other business/landowners, however what is also of concern to them relates more to the wider issues of water in the area. The prominent discourse emerging from this group can be exemplified by one accommodation owner who links water to a number of other concerns, particularly types of development:

“I have a real horror of big hotels and golf courses and that's the one thing that I actually think we have to actually fight in

that area. I know we have it a little bit further north of us and I think there is a place for it, but I don't think we should grow it any more. I think the golf course development near Bela Bela [on the edge of the WBR] it's huge and I'm really worried what it's going to do to our water when we have a drought period. The water sustains not just the reserve but the people in the area.”
(AC6, 2010)

The reserve mentioned above is Game Reserve 1, the largest in the study area. This is typical of the discourses that talk of appropriate and inappropriate development and this is discussed in more detail in the following chapter, however here it relates to how it could affect either their businesses or them personally. The use of the pronoun ‘our’ in relation to water followed by the sentence that it ‘sustains not just the reserve, but the people in the area’ implies a sense of ownership from a business perspective of the resource and the landowners who live on Game Reserve 1. Water is a scarce resource for most in the Waterberg and nearly all communities suffer from water shortages, however some are in a position to deal with it better than others.

“The water availability underground is extremely variable, there are some places like AC6’s that have good water, but by and large the Waterberg is a misnomer as it has very poor underground water resources. We have 6 bore holes on this farm and only one has water and it’s cost us an arm and a leg to look for more.”
(AC2, 2010)

What these discourses show is that how the poor have to cope with the key resource of water is potentially very different the rich. On comparing the discourse regarding water of CS5 (above) who lives and works in the township to that of a rural landowner, the problem is the same, but the solution different. Those in the township have to wait for water deliveries and/or walk to get water, while AC2 can use economic resource to find a solution, which is not available to those in the township. Again, this denotes a discourse relating not only to infrastructure, but to power. One of the powerful stakeholders in the area, AC6 is specifically mentioned by AC2 above as having good access to water. This potentially comes from this family settling

on land in the late nineteenth century that had this valuable resource. This reinforces the power that this individual and family have in the area. AC2's solution to the water problem is to use their economic power to ensure they have access to the resource. This reinforces the link between access to economic resources leading to power over other areas of development, in this case water. Although the South African government has a general neoliberal approach to development, infrastructure development predominantly remains the remit of government at all levels with a limited role for the private sector (South African Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission, 2012). The discourses and approach reflect a more Keynesian, modernisation approach whereby state investment in infrastructure acts as a stimulus to other areas of the economy through the multiplier effect.

7.2.4 Educational Concerns and Development

Educational issues are highlighted as a concern for a number of the stakeholders, particularly the standards of education for many of the rural poor and those in the townships. One public sector official sums up the concerns relating to those dependent on the state for their education:

"I think it's hard for people to go beyond the matric level, because that's when you can be able to at least establish some opportunities for you to develop, but other than that I don't see us winning on that point if you have a lot of people who leave school before they complete. For me education is key, because it will give you freedom, and you will have many more options and you won't be confined to one particular area. You go where the demand for skills is, but if you have not gone to school your options are zilch. You will not be able to move around, you don't have choices and your choices are limited, it will depend on the government grant and so forth, so it becomes a challenge and we may not be able to cross it. For as long as we don't get the education."
(PS3, 2010)

The notion regarding moving to where the work is available is also mentioned by other stakeholders (CS1; CS4; AC10, 2010), reinforcing the notion that there is little work in the area and that people have to be mobile in order to gain employment. Thus market forces are at work here, supporting the

neoliberal economic paradigm that employment levels and opportunities are effectively determined by the market. The neoliberal approach assumes this is a good thing, however it fails to ignore other social and cultural factors of migrant labour, particularly regarding family ties and social cohesion (Bryceson, 1999). Speaking on a similar subject, for another accommodation owner, issues of culture, power, ideology and context are prevalent in the development discourse:

“Very few of our local people have very little against which they can set their benchmark. When you are taking someone from a very rural area and you are expecting them to give service and to perform to the standards of the Western world, I think that that takes coaching, I think it takes a passion to teach in the best possible way, I don't mean that in a patronising way at all, I think there is a responsibility to show to teach.”
(AC6, 2010)

The specific context of rural South Africa is relevant here. The inference is that for people looking to work in tourism in rural South Africa, their lives are the binary opposite of what is demanded from the rich, Western tourists. While stating that she is not being patronising, there are distinct power relationships in the discourse. AC6 is in a powerful position as an employer and manager of a 5 star, up-market lodge. The discourse implies that those from the Western world (mainly the whites) have knowledge and power and then have to teach and educate others from the non-Western world (the blacks) how to work and belong in a domain that is seen as being alien to them. The power lies in the binary opposites of rich-poor, educated-uneducated, employed-unemployed, rural-urban and (white) Western- (black) African. This all relates as both modernisation and postcolonial theories involving power and identity constructions (Lunga, 2008). These discourses are a representation of this situation as there is a distinct framing of certain sections of the South African population.

One of the private schools offering scholarships to the poor is the Waterberg Academy. A governor of this institution has a particular view of the objectives of this educational organisation:

“I think the Waterberg Academy is important, because there are 20 to 25% of the people are Tsutu and they are growing up very much as equals and they are growing up getting a great education and again being politically incorrect, I think imbibing a Western view of the world as they go along and so I am hoping, I am on the Board of Governors of the Waterberg Academy, and I care about a lot, being realistic it's going to be black politicians who are running South Africa for the foreseeable future, so let **us** try and influence the people who are going to be future leaders and let **us** try and make sure they have the best education they can be exposed to, the concepts of worldview that **we** feel are important as well. So I hope out of places like the Waterberg Academy future leaders or ministers will emerge from the Waterberg, future mayors of Modimolle or whatever, who knows.”
(AC3, 2010)

The use of pronouns in CDA is relevant here as they involve the construction of identity and ideology (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). The discourse of AC3 refers to the pronouns of ‘us’ and ‘we’, (in bold) and while not stating directly, the inference here is that he is referring to the school governors. There is a direct intent to influence children’s thinking, to assimilate a Western worldview and to manipulate how children think. These worldviews are ideological standpoints which are used by those in power to coerce or influence others, in this case, how children are educated. It is therefore a potentially powerful discourse and one which relates to how Fairclough (2001) sees power rooted in ideology and then transmitted through discourse. Where the speaker sits in a social group is a reflection of their identity and ideology. There are also links to Foucault’s work on education. For Foucault (1971, p64) “... any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the power and knowledge they carry.” As was shown in the previous chapter, AC3 has a PhD from the UK, is married into the Smith family and is involved in a number of economic concerns in the region. This discourse also links into a powerful post-colonial view and one whereby possible alternative views of development and culture are side-lined for the Western worldview of globalisation, modernisation and neoliberalism.

AC8 makes the connection between educational service provision and economic growth. He compares South Africa to Botswana which he sees as having advanced economically since he started visiting in 1985, while South Africa has been focused more on politics than economics:

“The other thing, I mean the, in the whole power game a lot depends on where people apply their energies and where they organise themselves, what they organise themselves around, and communities are organised around politics and wanting better services, that’s **their** focus. **Their** focus is not on “we want to promote tourism in this area so we can get jobs”, **their** focus is on “we want better housing, we want water which we haven’t got, we want proper sewerage, we want refuse removal, we want better schools, we want better clinics”. **They** haven’t made the connection between economic growth and services. In Botswana, you can go into a rural area, small village and there will be a very smart school and there’ll be very smart houses for all the teachers, so they have no difficulty attracting teachers to the rural areas because there’s a beautiful house for them to live in and a lovely school to teach in. You go to rural schools here, I mean our school around the corner here there’s, the head of the school has to live in Vaalwater and drive out every day because there’s no house for him here. The school’s got no electricity, it’s got no water, the municipality delivers water in a tanker once a week and sometimes it doesn’t arrive. **They** haven’t made that connection in South Africa and the communities are so politicised.”

(AC8, 2010)

Pronoun use is of particular interest in this discourse. The use of the possessive ‘their’ and the pronoun ‘they’ (in bold) in the above discourse relates to the rural black, poor population and also potentially the politicians. It is a discourse that connotes a lack of understanding of the economic system from this section of society and that AC8 views as being relevant to him. AC8 sees the poor as being needy, wanting more services, but either not being capable of or not wanting to make the connection between rising economic development and social development. He sees these as being inextricably linked and it is those in power who are hindering this process affecting educational provision. As was shown in chapter two, there is not always a direct link between economic growth and poverty reduction. This was identified as being one of the problems of the dominant development

paradigms of modernisation and neoliberalism (Herath, 2009). AC8 however, does make this assumption, reinforcing economic-based development paradigms.

As this section shows there are a number of development problems which are seen by the active stakeholders as being in need of attention. These issues potentially hinder the movement towards a more sustainable region. The discourses which relate to SD are discussed below.

7.3 Discourses of Sustainable Development

As was noted in chapter two if SD is to occur, the guiding principles need to be followed. The following section analyses the discourses of the active stakeholders against the four main aspects of SD identified in the literature, summarised by Palmer, Cooper and van der Worst (1997) - futurity, environment, public participation and equity.

7.3.1 Futurity

One of the fundamental aspects of SD and which is a prominent feature of not only the definitions, but also the literature, is that it should encompass temporal concerns surrounding the long term and intergenerational equity. This was a central discourse emanating from the interviewees. All the salient stakeholders identified in the previous chapter mentioned temporality and see it as one of the fundamental aspects of SD (PS1; PS2; PS3; PS4; PS5; CS6; AC12, 2010). These salient stakeholders are all educated to at least degree level and have roles in the region whereby some knowledge relating to sustainability would be expected. Conversely, those interviewees who are less salient generally fail to mention aspects of futurity. The acting CEO of Game Reserve 1 talked of the reserve being there for the next one hundred years and how it would need to adapt and evolve as time went on:

“I understand ‘sustainability’ as to be able to put something in place that ultimately **regenerates**, so in other words **in fifty years time** my **grandchildren** could be appreciating exactly the same thing about the Waterberg as I’ve experienced, so a recognition of its qualities across the board like we’ve

discussed briefly now, but those same qualities still being in place **in fifty years time** or a **hundred years time**, to be able to impart those strengths onto **our children and their children and their children** and so on, that's sustainability to me."

(AC12, 2010)

The public sector officials emphasise the temporal aspects as they see it as being related to their roles in place planning and management.

"Sustainable development means that we must preserve something for **future** generations. The biosphere must be sustained for **this generation** and the **next generation**. We must plan the **future** and not just for the **present**.

When did you first come across this word sustainable?

I heard it at university on my course on development and planning.

Does it play a major part in your job now?

Yes it does. When we were at university we learned that we must plan for the **future**, not just the **present**. But you must also plan for the **past, the present**, and the **future** and for the **future** we're talking about sustainable development. We must plan for things that we can sustain for the **future**."

(PS2, 2010)

The discourse topicalises words associated with temporality (in bold), thus emphasising their importance. When questioned further on futurity, the stakeholders articulated how this was to be achieved. The discourses focused on preservation or conservation of the environment. This link between environment and economy was prevalent from most of the active stakeholders. Speaking for future generations can be difficult, but one stakeholder summed the position up in that future generations wanted "an environment that is no worse than today" (AC12, 2010). Their discourse relates to the general principles of futurity as stated by Becker (2005) that it involves resource availability for future generations, however the active stakeholders do not generally see the bigger picture of long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem.

7.3.2 Environment

The second predominant feature of SD is that development should occur which takes into account environmental concerns and a sustainable use of natural resources. In order to examine environmental approaches, the interviewees were all asked as to how they perceived the area. Their responses have a strong environmental discourse. As was shown in chapter four, the topography of the Waterberg is diverse, complex and unique, human populations are quite sparse and along with the varied flora and fauna in the region, this makes for a predominantly wilderness type environment.

“I’ve seen some really pretty places, and more pretty than the Waterberg, but there’s a rugged beauty about here, there’s a kind of a, superficially you know, you get this sense of time having, I don’t know, being here, it’s been a hell of a process of evolution to get it to where it is, and it’s got that written into its stone if you like.”
(AC9, 2010)

“The trees, the birdlife, the wildlife you don’t have to go to the Kruger National Park you’ve got everything here.”
(AC4, 2010)

As was shown in the previous chapter, the WNC members are active stakeholders particularly with regard to the economic and environmental aspects of STD. As a group they were also instrumental in getting the WBR established. Below are some the WNC members’ views of the Waterberg and what it means to them as an area:

“Well, personally I’ve always seen it as the last bastion of an unpopulated area that still has a wilderness quality. It’s got an incredibly wild appearance.”
(CS2, 2010)

“So talking about the plateau, what is most attractive about it is its relatively undisturbed natural beauty. That beauty is both scenic, but accessible, so you can get into it and walk most of it very easily, you can get around it very easily, so it’s easy to enjoy provided you like being outdoors. OK, that all means, very little crop potential, no industrial development and not much stock potential, so that means the area really has the

potential to remain a wilderness, apart from tourism development. It's very attractive from that point of view, it's as good as anywhere one can find in the country, which as a group we came to view tourism developments, very critically.” (AC2, 2010)

The last sentence above which refers to ‘the group’ is a reference to the WNC and indicates that this group have a preference for a certain type of development in the WBR. This connects to both how the area is perceived in terms of its attributes, and what the area is used for. These discourses are about the destination’s worth or value as a distinct place which has specific attributes. From a tourism/destination perspective, Murphy, Pritchard and Smith (2000) state that it is inherently difficult to ascertain a destination’s value as this involves complex questions relating to intangibility. However, these intangible aspects of destinations and a desire for land conservation are relevant to the environmental movement mentioned in chapter three. This also relates to the notion of a ‘sense of place’ discussed in chapter two and what is most salient in a destination to the residents. The work of Kerstetter and Bricker (2009) is pertinent here as they argue that sustainability concerns are embedded in the sense of place when the natural environment plays a central part in how the residents identity with the destination. This was a strong discourse from many of the respondents, emphasising the belief that the area has specific attributes that have intrinsic worth. A conservation discourse thus emerges:

“What is really interesting is that if you were born and raised in an area there is an inherent feeling of this something that belongs to me I must appreciate it and look properly at it. Now for me the Waterberg is a very **precious place** to be looked after, it's a very **precious place** that has a lot to offer for us and is a **precious place** that we need to look after so that my grandchildren will find it I hope as intact as it is now.” (PS3, 2010)

The WBRMC chair also mentions the natural aspects of the area, but also states that there is uniqueness about the landscape and that these attributes are worth protecting:

“It’s retained a certain **wilderness quality** and it has been in a position to regain a lot of the biodiversity that was here originally. It has a **natural beauty** to it and space, and given its proximity to Gauteng, which is probably the biggest industrial hub in Africa, it makes it **unusual** and **worth fighting to preserve**.”
(CS6, 2010)

The framing of the area (in bold) through these discourses emphasises a range of views. The conservation of the natural environment is a prominent discourse and therefore in CDA it is a significant frame. The framing of the natural environment fits with the ethos of the WNC members and their desire for some kind of environmental protection for their land.

While framing is one useful CDA tool, modality is another. On examining the language of the respondents it can be seen that modality is more prevalent in the discourses of those who are identified as more salient in STD in the WBR in chapter seven. This emphasises the relationship between language and power, which is also an aspect of modality (Winter and Gärdenfors, 1995). For example, the public sector respondents who were identified in chapter seven as being ‘definitive’ stakeholders use modality in their discourses.

“...but the most important thing is the preservation of the natural habitat, so that you don't make it a kind of man-made environment. So that **should** be the bottom line. “
(PS1, 2010)

“As well as being a planner, I am also an environmentalist. As an environmentalist **we must** preserve the natural environment and we **must** protect flora and fauna. If we lose those things as a district then we will not attract tourists to the region. We **must** protect the environment within this district. “
(PS2, 2010)

It is also interesting to note that from a CDA perspective, the use of the pronoun ‘we’ in the quote above. It is not clear from the context of who the ‘we’ refers to. It could be the wider community, environmentalists or the municipal government for who he works, but there is a recognition of the link between the environment and tourism (Hall and Page, 2000).

As was shown in chapter two, environmental concerns are at the forefront of sustainable development thinking. For example, the Brundtland Report advocates the need to square the circle of economic development and environmental conservation and that the latter is dependent on the former. This was alluded to by a senior manager from LEDET.

“Especially after the World Summit on Sustainable Development, I think this sustainability word it somehow became a buzzword, but for us it was like okay it's fine. This is in a way an acknowledgement of that there is underdevelopment; this is in a way acknowledgement that there might be conservation, but also conservation of natural resources **must not be closed off** from the fact that there are people who **must benefit** from the same resources. Now for others it means let's use what we have, not only to benefit the few, but we use what we have, but also to benefit the majority of the people who've always never had access to resources or to any other benefits. Of course when we do that we **must take note of** the fact **we need to be very responsible** in our behaviour in terms of utilising what we have now, so that which remains can still be utilised by the people after us.”
(PS3, 2010)

There is a distinct framing at the start of his dialogue, relating the concept of sustainability to the Rio summit on SD. This denotes a level of knowledge relating to sustainable development, the origins of the concept and a link to poverty reduction and greater social equity. This knowledge is also evidenced from modality in the discourse (in bold). As a black, public sector worker who has grown up in Limpopo Province and lived through apartheid, the subject in the following is not clear - “...but for us it was like okay it's fine. This is in a way an acknowledgement of that there is underdevelopment...” There is an inference though that the ‘us’ he is referring to is the rural poor. The term ‘underdevelopment’, has specific connotations as mentioned in 7.2.1 and in chapter two and links to the work on modernisation and dualism by Kreutzmann (1998). The use of the word ‘benefits’ is of particular note in this discourse as it use varies as a noun and a verb. He talks of ‘people who must benefit from the same resources’; ‘not only to benefit the few’; ‘to benefit the majority’ and those who have ‘never had access to resources or to any other

benefits'. Again, while not stating specifically the subject in this discourse, there is an inference that it is the black, majority who have not had (economic) benefit from resource access. The 'natural resources' is an all-encompassing term, however, it has land-ownership connotations and that it is those with the land who have received the 'benefits' at the expense of those who have not. While a conservation discourse exists, the active stakeholders see that the environment is an economic resource and that policy reform in how changes how environmental issues are dealt with is a reflection of the neoliberal ecological modernisation theory mentioned in chapter two (Hajer, 1996; Mol 2002).

Some landowners are criticised by others with a concern that they use up a disproportionate amount of resources (land, water etc.) in relation to the benefits they bring to the area, thus affecting sustainability concerns (this is discussed further in section 8.2.3 on in/appropriate development). The Brundtland Report specifically argues that the distribution of power and influence within society lies at the heart of most environment and development challenges (WCED, 1987). The WBR is a representation of these concerns as the biosphere's mandate relates to SD.

That poor are also framed as having unsustainable lives as they consume resources such as wood for their fires:

"What makes me sad is that they don't have roads and they don't have water and it's a shame about what is happening to the ecology as they are chopping down trees on the surrounding properties and that's happening at an alarming rate at the moment. This is to feed their cooking fires."
(BS5, 2012)

This relates to the findings of the World Resources Institute (2008) who assert that the poorest families living in rural areas are dependent on consuming large amounts of natural resources for their existence just to survive. The poor are therefore seen as having unsustainable lives which fits with the work in chapter two that they generally have a weak approach to sustainability

7.3.3 Public Participation

This thesis focuses on those stakeholders who have an active role in SD and while concerns are raised regarding the poor, as shown in section 7.2.1 they are positioned by these active stakeholders as being in need of development. The issue of bottom-up, participatory planning as called for by the Brundtland Report and the UNEP is absent in the discourses of development from the active stakeholders. The sustainable destination planning and management literature identified in chapter three states that those destinations that are moving down a more sustainable path have buy-in and cooperation in and between all stakeholders, particularly the public and private sectors (Getz and Jamal, 1994; Gunn, 1994; Hall, 1999, Hardy and Beeton, 2001; Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). One of the mandates of biospheres is that a stakeholder approach to SD is undertaken. This was also identified as a theme in the literature review and is included as a key component of SD. The literature shows that stakeholder approaches to development can be problematical as stakeholders have varying views and institutional logics (see chapters three and seven). The WBR is no exception. For one public sector tourism official, getting cooperation between stakeholders is problematical reinforcing the difficulties of implementing SD/STD, but also that power through strong leadership is necessary:

“In the biosphere, if I can mention, I cannot prove this but if there are more than twenty stakeholders and if they don't agree that you cannot progress then you cannot continue with sustainable development. As soon as there is one cluster being against it you need money and then you cannot progress, and then along the line you could lose interest as there is no cooperation and if people cannot stand absolutely together and say we're going to fight this thing, it's very, very close to our heart and it's very important to us, you need a good leader, but somewhere along the line the leader cannot stand alone.”
(PS4, 2010)

While stakeholder participation is desirable, practical application is more difficult as stated by Veron (2001) and Bridger and Luloff (1999) in chapter two. It is complex and often ends up being top down and not bottom up. In the

WBR, there is little evidence of participatory planning particularly involving those from disadvantaged communities. The poor are seen as being the recipients of development and not part of the process and this has been seen as one of the main problems of the various development approaches, particularly modernisation and neo-colonialism (Long, 2001). CDA also involves not only what is said, but what is not stated in discourses (Wetherall, Taylor and Yates, 2001). The active stakeholders do not refer to the poor as being involved in determining their own future. This invokes the notion put forward by Spivak (1985), that the subaltern has no voice. While the disadvantaged are not viewed as 'active stakeholders' in STD in the WBR, they are positioned in a certain way, that they are in need of development and discourses pertaining to communicating with them to find out their needs were absent from the active stakeholder discourses. For the WBR administrator:

“The issue of bottom up planning was raised by the Transvaal Agricultural Union who stated in their initial thinking and documentation regarding the biosphere. They had some issues with the management plan and wanted input into this, but nothing materialised. The bottom up approach patently isn't working.”
(CS7, 2012)

It could however be argued that there is a bottom-up, community approach to development in the WBR. The WNC and WBRMC members are all constituents of the community and AC6, who has been central in driving the biosphere forward is a central figure in the region. His role in the WBR is discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The role of government in operationalising STD in the WBR is also discussed in more detail in chapter nine. While the biosphere is one aspect of participation within the region, the discourses of the active stakeholders point to there being a number of community-related problems that affect more active community participation. Cooperation is seen as problematical with the contextual issues relating to the divisions across South African society a cause of this:

“You know these societies are so **deeply divided**, I mean South Africa is such a **deeply divided** society and until the

different interest groups stop using **confrontation** and **high conflict strategies** and start to understand that they, **it's crazy** if you're in the same boat for one group to be rowing in one direction and the other side of the boat rowing in the other direction, and we'll just have to **bash each other** around for a while I think until we come to our senses in this country. (AC8, 2011)

There is a **divide** between the Afrikaans community, the African community and the English community. Apartheid is still very much in existence, obviously not a legislation any more, but certainly there is a **massive divide**. This is something that one notices and there is **no integration** as such." (CS3, 2010)

In a lexical analysis of the above text, the words relating to societal divisions are highlighted in bold, showing that obtaining cooperation is problematical due to the historical, political societal legacies of apartheid. The vestiges of apartheid, have not only left predominantly divided communities, but entrenched views of 'the Other' that are difficult to break down (AC3; AC7, 2010). In this case-study, participatory approaches are problematical due to the social, economic, political contexts that underpin the region. This is explored further in chapter nine.

7.3.4 Equity

As stated in chapter two, equity involves issues of social justice and fairness regarding access to resources, health, education, socio-political rights and technology. As with much of South Africa, the Waterberg area is not characterised by an equitable share of these aspects. CS5 who lives and works in the township links a whole series of problems in his community:

"We are still struggling with water. We **don't have enough water** in our community. Sometimes we **don't have enough water** for three to four weeks, people **have to walk to get water** and some people are still **living in shacks**. There has been a lot of changes since 1994, but people are **still struggling** you know, there's **not enough work** in our community, especially for the young people you know, this issue has not yet been addressed. There **aren't recreation facilities for young people, there aren't sports facilities**

either, there aren't computer centres, some schools do have computers, but it's not enough.”
(CS5, 2010)

The negative lexical analysis of the discourse (in bold) draws attention to development concerns through highlighting what they don't have - water, work, adequate housing, recreation and sports facilities and computer centres. The specific reference to 1994 when the first free elections took place in South Africa sets the discourse in a specific context. There is an implication that there would be significant change for those living in townships post 1994 and while he recognises change has come, some basic needs are still not being met. As stated in chapter four, rural South Africa and Limpopo Province particularly still have concerns regarding the provision of basic needs and this is exemplified by this discourse.

If South Africa and its various regions are to move down a SD pathway then the legacy of apartheid needs to be addressed. In relation to one aspect of equity, without empowerment tourism development at the community level will not move down a sustainable pathway (Sofield, 2003). Empowerment emerges as a particular discourse for a number of respondents (BS4; CS3; CS4; LC1, 2010) and resonates with the findings of Berkes (2004) that empowerment is seen by the rural poor as part of equitable development. For example the owner of one NGO states:

“I see an **impotence**, an **impotent group of people** and I look at apartheid and I see what they have created is that one is **used to hand-outs**, one is **used to being disempowered** and one is used to saying because I need to do this. And one has to say no because, you have to teach these people how, not to give them hand-outs, how not to rely on someone to do everything. It's empowering people to understand that, you know, you can go and set up a small business, don't rely on other people or me to create it. Give me the skills and if you want to move off and go and start your own craft business in Leseding, go for it that's what it's about, that's what sustainability is about.”
(CS3, 2010)

The discourse frames the negative aspects associated with a lack of empowerment and for this NGO owner, changing attitudes is part of the empowerment process. There is also a power element to this as empowerment only comes from being taught and it is again, a white, wealthy, educated NGO owner who is doing this.

Equity regarding land ownership is also problematical. Even though some land has gone back to black Africans through the land reclamations process, access to land however is not enough to generate economic benefits as the land claimants testify.

“We cannot do anything, because even now when they give the land to people they don't give the development grant or the skills to develop the land. How are the investors going to invest in the land while we don't have the skills to develop?”
(LC2, 2010)

Other resources such as knowledge, business skills and access to capital are required to make a living from the land and in the Waterberg region, there are limited land-use options as stated previously. The above discourse confirms the general findings regarding the land reclamation process outlined in section 4.4.5 particularly a lack of support for claimants and exclusion and marginality of poor not being addressed in rural areas (Hall, 2004, Walker, 2008; Brooks et al, 2011). The white landowners generally have these resources as was shown in the previous chapter. There is an implication of power relationships in this discourse, the central theme resonates around access to resources (land) and that benefits (economic) accrue from land. The accommodation owners have different sets of problems associated with their land which also resonate around making a sustainable economic living from the land through tourism (AC2; AC8; AC10; AC13), but they have access to capital and greater knowledge of owning and managing businesses.

Another aspect of equity regarding SD that is prevalent in the literature and discussed in chapter two is that there needs to be concerns for both local and the global issues. There are a variety of discourses emerging from the

interviews, some seeing that local issues are of paramount importance, some articulating views on the link between the local and the global and some stating that sustainability issues are a concern at all levels. Two contrasting discourses are given below in response to the question; “Do you see sustainability as a local concern, or is it more of a regional, national or global issue?”

“I see it [sustainability] as a big picture thing, I think it’s vital that we protect these things globally, you know recognition of things that are important and keep them happening... yeah, I guess, they’re important locally because they keep communities alive and basically we **need to** earn a living really, living in the bush anywhere in the world is becoming a really difficult place to be farming is dying, and so trying to make a living. Living in a remote area is difficult. So we **need to** kind of have things in place that are going to make that happen, so locally it’s important. At a national level we **need to**, you know, find these places that have this uniqueness, that make our country identity, so they’re really important for us to share that information with, with other Biospheres, and even just other sensitive areas or other remote areas, and then globally I think, yeah, no, it’s important at a global level, I’ve lived thankfully in my life in two really sensitive areas and they’re amazing and they **should** be there for everybody to be able to come and see, but this is an international destination, so it’s important that somebody from the UK can come and sample something special.”

(AC9, 2010)

“No. I’m very much a...this is where we live now, we look after what we’ve got here the people we’ve got around us, and what goes on in the rest of the world at the moment that’s entirely up to them.”

(AC5, 2010)

The use of modality in AC9’s discourse emphasises the importance of conservation/protection of unique areas, which links back to both the environmental management literature in chapter three and the sense of place discourses mentioned earlier. This discourse also refers to the futurity aspects of SD, that areas such as the Waterberg need to continue to remain as ‘special’ places. For AC9, who has lived and worked in different countries, his view is that everybody should be able to see these ‘destinations, which he

deems worthy of visitation. While these are noble intentions from an equity perspective, this is patently not achievable. These are views that indirectly relate to the globalised network that involves the spread of the international pleasure periphery. While arguing that the natural environment needs protection and that sustainability is of global concern, there is a contradiction in the discourse which is relevant to both SD and STD. This raises empirical and theoretical debates surrounding the net effect of growing global tourism and the various perspectives that arise when discussing sustainability. The literature in chapter three highlights the work of Ritchie and Crouch (2003) who state that STD is an oxymoron. Wheeler (1993, 2004) is particularly critical of the rhetoric surrounding sustainable tourism, especially the issue of whether it can address the effects of the continued growth of the industry. This growth is a neoliberal discourse that has serious implications for sustainability concerns. The growth of the tourism industry has been and continues to be predominantly directed by a small group of transnational players and that it facilitates the expansion of the capitalist system (Fletcher, 2009). The contrasting views of AC5 which is localist against the more global views relate to the work of Feitelson (1991) and Devine Wright (2013) mentioned in chapter three. These authors argue that place attachment at both the local and global levels is possible and the 'think globally, act locally' discourse.

Other interviewees recognise that the principles of sustainability are applicable worldwide and that there is a need for a long term view, which relates to the temporal aspects mentioned above (BS5; CS5; AC6; AC10; AC12, 2010). The discourses show that equity in this case-study relates more to future generational equity as opposed to a sharing of resources. Equity in this sense revolves around bringing up the living standards of the poor as opposed to any reduction in living standards of the wealthy, the former being extremely difficult and the latter being unlikely in the short term, given power positions.

7.3.5 Approaches to and Positions of Sustainable Development

The positions of SD ranging from very strong to very weak are articulated in chapter two. To recap, if SD is to occur, then the four aspects relating to the concept (futurity, environment, public participation and equity), need to be viewed from a strong sustainability position (Palmer, Cooper and van der Worst, 1997). Chapter two also shows that there are three main approaches to SD, namely, reform, repudiation or radical. In this case study, the UN's version of SD which stems from the Brundtland Report is evidenced through an analysis of the active stakeholder discourses. It is one that follows the ideas of Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien (2005) in that discourses are reformist in broad tone but lean towards the status quo and therefore a repudiation or business as usual approach in proposed details. It could therefore be termed a mildly reformist approach which sees environmental concerns as important, but there are neoliberal undertones in socio-economic and environmental approaches to development.

The chair of the WBRMC (AC6) clearly advocates the UN's version of SD and this is also reflected in the discourses of others with knowledge of the biosphere concept. The discourses of those interviewed predominantly have a mildly reformist element. The aspects of SD that they see as important such as futurity, the environment and economic development and it is these elements that need attention if the region is to move down a SD pathway. Radical approaches are not evident in the discourse and while neoliberal attitudes prevail, these are tempered by an environmental discourse which is not evident in the repudiation approach.

One interviewee who expressed a UN type approach to SD is AC3, a PhD in physics, a land and lodge owner, married to the sister of the WBRMC chair and a CEO of a sustainable energy company in the Waterberg. It could be argued for these reasons that he should have a high degree of knowledge of the biosphere due to his position. This does emphasise that it is not just the discourse that is relevant in CDA, it is the reasons why people may say the things they do that is also of bearing (modality in bold).

“We need sensible planning ideas and the biosphere **should** have a core wilderness area and you **need to** look very carefully at any buildings and development that cares in that area. And then I suppose outside that your area which is more flexible because you've **got to have** things which employ people and development to make the whole thing economically sustainable and outside of that you **can have** another area where you can be more flexible and you **can have** your schools etc. and light industry and whatever you need.”
(AC3, 2010)

To recap, from a CDA perspective, Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy (2004) assert that action affects discourse through the production of texts which then become embedded in discourse, potentially reinforcing or altering it. These actions, texts and discourses have to be legitimate and make sense. They do so when they come from powerful actors, refer to genres which can be recognised and are related to existing discourses and texts, or intertextuality. When the language of the quote above is examined, it shows the influence of the discourse which emanates from the UN and their literature on biospheres. While not naming the zones by name, the interviewee clearly speaks about zonation and planning of developments. The UN discourse has been legitimised through their MaB documentation through the genre of their literature. Modality is also present in the discourse, showing that there is a level of understanding of what needs to be present in each zone. The UN discourse is reinforced from one of the actors who is active in all three areas of STD. This stakeholder was identified as having high interest, but low power in the previous chapter, putting him in the ‘dependent’ stakeholder category. In the above quote modality is used (text in bold) which reinforces AC3’s position as someone who is both knowledgeable and although he has limited power in STD in the WBR, it does emphasise some degree of power through this knowledge.

The discourses which surround the position of SD/STD in this case-study are generally ones of weak or very weak sustainability. There were no discourses which related to deep ecocentric positions, evident in positions of very strong sustainability. As shown in chapter two, Daly and Cobb (1989) equity and

public participation differentiate between strong and weak sustainability. As shown above, discourses relating to the two aspects of SD mentioned by Daly and Cobb are limited, although those of futurity and environment are much stronger. Resources in the region are not equitably distributed and there is no evidence that this will change in the foreseeable future, unless there are radical political changes at national level. Futurity and the environment are given more prominence in the active stakeholder discourses, which suggests a slightly stronger approach to sustainability on these counts, but overall, the position is generally weak/very weak. The discourses support how Neumayer (2003) sees strong/weak sustainability positions, in that they are dependent on belief systems and resulting in a variety of social constructions of the concepts in order to help to try and understand where these belief systems lie.

That SD is a balancing act of economic, social and the environmental concerns is a prominent feature in the literature and was highlighted as so in chapter two. This balancing act or three pillar approach to SD is also fundamental in achieving the objectives of biosphere reserves. This was recognised by some interviewees as important when considering development in the region, however the more prominent discourses tended to revolve around economic aspects.

“I think it’s a pyramid, they [the three pillars] all stand together, they’re all equal in different ways. I mean **economy** is always important and I think maybe possibly **economy**, I don’t think it’s right, but I think **economy** and the social aspects. The **economy** just by... if people are **better off** they’re gonna have more time for the environment. So the **economy** directly... you know, they’re so interlinked but the **economy**, you know. So the **economy** has to empower the people and the culture and the social issues and I think it’s social rather than cultural issues, but social can transport into cultural issues. You know, so once those, you’ve got a solid base there, then people have time and energy and things for the environment. “
(AC12, 2010)

Within the discourse above, the topicalisation of the 'economy' (in bold) emphasises the importance of the subject. That the private sector discourses resonate around economics is not perhaps surprising and relates to a weak position of sustainability. There is however a conservation discourse as was mentioned previously in this chapter and this is recognised by many of the private sector interviewees. The balancing of the economic and environmental concerns is an emergent discourse from the participants and could be termed the two-pillar approach. This came mainly from the accommodation providers (AC3; AC5; AC12, 2010) who see that developing in a sustainable way implies protection of the resource base as a necessity if employment is to be generated and their businesses to be economically sustained. Public sector and civil society stakeholder discourses emphasise a balancing of the three pillars, however their main discourse surrounds the temporal aspects as stated above.

It is recognised that of the three pillars of sustainable development, economic sustainability is the dominant discourse from the interviewees. The majority of the business owners and accommodation providers relate sustainability to the on-going survival and continuation of their business. This market-orientated approach to sustaining businesses is understandable and correlates with the ideas of Olsson (2009) in chapter two regarding businesses seeing economic growth as essential for sustaining their survival. Another discourse that transpires, particularly from the private sector, is one of domination and a desire for economic upliftment of the area generally that will lead to a sustaining of their businesses. On the surface, motives for economic and social advancement may appear altruistic, however there is also a link to being able to attract more visitors to the area, to recruit excellent staff and to be able to develop their businesses so that long term economic sustainability of the region and their businesses is ensured. A number of those in business see that their businesses are necessary in providing employment and this is part of the sustainability agenda. For example, AC10 spoke at length about environmental concerns and the need to protect the environment and also the need to develop people and how in their business they have trained up a number of black employees to management levels. Her summary of

sustainable tourism encapsulates the views of a number of others in business, namely; BS1, AC1, AC2, AC3, AC4, AC5, AC11 and AC12.

“The bottom line is and it's really sad matter of fact, **the bottom line** is sustainable tourism is also about whether you can survive financially, forget about all the green things and being nice to the people and developing people and whatever, but it's actually **the bottom line** is if you can't pay your bills then that's that and you out of business. What happens then and what happens to the 65 people you employ and their families and that's unfortunately **the bottom line.**”
(AC10, 2010)

The use of the phrase ‘the bottom line’ has economic connotations, meaning profit in an accounting context. This emphasises the importance AC10 puts on the economic aspects of sustainability. As an employer she feels a sense of social and environmental responsibility, but without the income from the business, this cannot be achieved. The private sector institutional logics therefore underpin this discourse, one which revolve around the economic aspects of businesses. Private sector development and the employment of the local population are therefore critical to sustainable development in the area. While economic imperatives of sustainability are prominent discourses from the private sector in particular, they also recognise the need for environmental protection/conservation and/or management. This sits with the ideas of Harris and Udagawa (2004), mentioned in chapter two, who conclude that context is critical in determining imperatives. For the Waterberg, as unemployment is so high amongst the black population, that economic development concerns are seen as a priority and this is recognised by all sectors. However, as stated in section 7.3.2 above, there is also a conservation discourse which emanates from the stakeholders which recognises that in the WBR economy and environment are inextricably linked. The institutional logics of businesses mentioned in chapters three and six are relevant here as they underpin and influence discourses. The literature on institutional logics outlines private sector logics as being utilitarian, but in this case study they are also normative and involve environmental concerns.

The perspectives on SD as given by the interviewees are generally weak in that the discourses represent a perpetuation of the “cultural-ideology of consumerism” (Brockington, Duffy and Igoe, 2008, p5) and the work of Escobar (1995) who sees that natural resources are a representation of ecological capitalism and essentially there to be consumed by the dominant capitalist class.

7.5 Chapter Summary

What the active stakeholders say about the main themes of development and SD are key features of this chapter. Their discourses regarding development resonate with the dominant modernisation and neoliberal paradigms, however there are also dependency and post-colonial discourses evident. The poor are positioned as in need of development and empowerment through a post-colonial, apartheid influenced discourse of contrast between whites and blacks. These discourses are underpinned by ideological beliefs and affect how ‘the Other’ is positioned. The Western, neoliberal view of development predominates and this has effects on the discourses of SD. Futurity, environment, public participation and equity are all evident in the discourses, however they point to a very weak position of sustainability with an approach that has much to do with mild reform or even repudiation (business as usual). Environmental concerns and a conservation discourse do emerge, but they are couched in neoliberal terms. Participation in development and SD is limited and as is shown in the following chapter this invokes both issues of group and individual power.

Chapter 8 - Discourses of Sustainable Tourism Development

8.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter examines the themes relating to the macro context of development and SD. This chapter now moves onto an analysis of tourism as a sustainable development option in the WBR through an analysis of the active stakeholder discourses. First, it examines tourism as a development option, discussing its role as an economic driver, the tourism product in the WBR and the control of tourism development. Second, power relating to active stakeholder groups and individuals is examined.

8.2 Tourism as a Sustainable Development Option

The following section examines the discourses which surround tourism development in the WBR, focusing on the characteristics of the tourism industry, how the development of the industry is seen by the active stakeholders and how this fits with the contexts from chapters two, three and four.

8.2.1 Tourism as Economic Driver

It is the economic aspects of tourism that relate to income generation, employment, the multiplier effect and its contribution to the balance of payments that are prevalent in the literature as highlighted in chapter three. STD however is supposed to balance economic, societal and environmental concerns, but economic aspects often prevail. The economic aspects of tourism are mentioned by all the active stakeholders at some point during their interview, with the main discourse surrounding tourism as an economic driver for the area through income generation and job creation. However, the ability of the industry to alleviate many of the economic problems in the area is potentially limited:

“I think tourism is probably the only industry within the biosphere that **could be** sustainable. There’s very little to harvest from the biosphere and even the woodland, there’s not much you can harvest in a sustainable way. All of which

means, the biosphere is never going to be an economic engine, it just doesn't have the wherewithal, either on the surface or beneath the surface. People have to be realistic about that in my view and a lot are not, a lot visualise casinos and tourism in its full extent, here. I think that's simply unrealistic. I think tourism, including hunting, is the only activity that can provide sustainable economic development. Because of the inherent carrying capacity of the region, that tourism development is going to be quite modest for it to be sustainable. Therefore, if it is to be modest, then it **needs to be** high-value tourism, so the numbers of people, while they **might be** small, **might be** high-paying visitors. It then generates economic wealth, and the people who work in the area, **need to be** remunerated accordingly and they **need to be** more highly skilled than in other places, because I believe that mass tourism, the sort you have down the coast of Spain and Portugal, would very quickly spoil the area.”
(AC2, 2010)

“I as a Waterberger, think we're at a crossroads, where we **can** either through effective intervention if it **can be** possible move towards being a serious conservation area, which with a greater profile which **could** then assist the ecotourism potential and that **can** then absorb some of the jobs which were lost through agriculture before, or we are going to continue down a path of fragmentation, where we just become part of Gauteng's pleasure periphery. This **would** have negative consequences in terms of the character and sense of place of the area and in my view keep the socio-economic potential of the area going.”
(CS6, 2010)

The two discourses above highlight how tourism has the potential to be a key sustainable economic sector within the WBR. The modal verbs (in bold) highlight some of the potential and also some of the issues concerned with tourism. The discourse of AC2 states that it needs to be small-scale, high value tourism, while CS6 extols the virtues of ecotourism, and calls for 'effective intervention'. AC2 also states the carrying capacity of the area is limited, thus meaning high value, low volume in the region. The development of these forms of tourism does not address the fundamental development concern of mass unemployment in the region. This primarily lodge-based tourism also has limited opportunity for linkages with other sectors of the economy, especially SME development. Rural tourism generally has limited

opportunity for economic development particularly as many local people lack capital and knowledge to start businesses (Sharpley, 2002). The forms of tourism present in the WBR reflect this and also an inability to access tourism markets. The type of tourism therefore dictates the economic aspects of tourism (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). Duffy (2006) questions whether luxury resorts have a place in ecotourism, especially those owned by large corporations as is the case in the WBR. The up-market tourism product in the WBR also has implications for SME development in the area as one public sector tourism official notes:

“It also **discourages the up and coming SMEs** to build up confidence in the establishments. It's **not very easy for them to survive**, on the other hand it is the mandate of the government that we assist the local entrepreneurs to establish facilities in the district. But now there is **this wall that separates** the market for the rich and the market for the lower class. At the same time it also **discourages local tourism**, so people from around here **lose a sense of what tourism is** and what is the benefit of participating in tourism and the necessity of desiring to establish a business that is tourism related.”
(PS5, 2010)

This is quite a negative discourse (negative words in bold). One of the main benefits of tourism is that as an industry it offers numerous opportunities for SME development, either selling products directly to tourists or providing other products and services to the industry. This is recognised by Evans and Cleverdon (2000) who also assert that it can be problematical for SMEs to grow in developing countries as locals have limited resources, and power often lies with elites who control the industry. With regards to this case study, the discourses support this view, but also from a Foucauldian perspective, show that knowledge and power go hand in hand. It is this knowledge of the industry that perpetuates the dominance of certain sectors of society. Up-market tourism is discussed further in the section 8.2.2. PS5 talks of a ‘wall’ between the rich and the poor who cannot penetrate the market as it is controlled by the up-market establishments invoking power relationships. PS5 also states that local tourism is not encouraged or understood, inferring that

the dominant up-market, lodge-based tourism *is* the tourism industry and access to other forms is limited.

While it is recognised that tourism is an important industry for employment generation, one discourse which emerges relates to the lack of skills of many of the local workers. Related to this is the issue concerning the employment of people from outside the area, particularly from Zimbabwe, who are seen by the private sector as having the requisite skills for working in tourism (BS1; BS2; AC2; AC7; AC9; AC10, 2010). If private sector businesses are to be economically sustainable, skilled staff are required in all areas of the business. Nearly all those in the private sector declare that they have problems in recruiting sufficiently trained employees and they have to invest considerable resources into training and development.

One of the discourses which emerges from the public sector officials is that they understand the importance of the industry as an economic driver in the region. They also recognise that the industry in the region is predominantly private sector created and driven and the public sector only have a minor role to play in its development as it is not seen as a government priority. The tourism planning literature advocates that particularly at local level, governments need to take the lead in tourism development, although it is also recognised that stakeholder engagement, community-based, bottom-up approaches and tourism being integrated into broader SD plans (Murphy 1985; Inskeep 1991; Gunn 1994; Jamal and Getz 1995; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). Within the WBR, there is a sense of frustration at the district level of government from the public sector officials that these do not occur, thus being a barrier towards a more sustainable industry. The problems within the public sector are discussed in section 8.2.4 below, however the following conversation highlights concerns regarding the public sector's involvement in tourism (modal verbs in bold):

“The municipality is **supposed to** drive this thing, but they don't. Tourism is very, very low in the municipality's priority list and that's basically where the funding **should** come from. If our roads aren't maintained, you **won't** reach your end

destination, you **won't** be able to continue with sustainable development in the destination, if there is no water, it **won't** continue. There are very big challenges in this country especially to do with tourism, because it's not a priority. (PS4, 2010)

My colleague is correct. I would say that the structures of the government do not have equal capacity for tourism development. When one would visit the national structure there is a representation to some degree for tourism development, to the provincial structure it is also there but not adequate, but when you come down to the local government structure, which is local government, the priorities of tourism have been mixed with other functions and that makes tourism to come secondary instead of taking priority. It's local municipality who deliver on the ground. They have all the powers to drive the facilitation of tourism development in our communities, in our towns and it's at ground level where there is less capacity and where there is less vision for this development.
(PS5, 2010)

There is no assistance from the municipality. The tourism office is the heart of the town to advertise your tourism and if you don't have that how can you promote sustainable tourism? How can you continue with sustainable development of tourism if the heart is not there? So capacity, lack of interest lack of funds, lack of priority.”
(PS4, 2010)

The first discourse from PS4 uses modality to emphasise what the district municipality should be doing with regard to tourism. As is shown in chapter four, tourist boards operate at provincial level in Limpopo Province and there is little involvement in the industry lower down the government hierarchy. The public sector officials recognise not only the developmental concerns over infrastructure, but also those related to tourism structures, how tourism is delivered and the problems in doing this. Hall and Jenkins (1995) assert that for destinations to develop in a sustainable way, adequate structures from the public sector need to be in place and within this case-study region, this is patently not the case. The last sentence which frames the problems in terms of how tourism is developed and delivered are all government issues discussed further in 8.2.4 which examines the role of government in more depth.

8.2.2 The Tourism Product in the WBR

It was identified in chapter three that the type and level of tourism determines the scale and direction of the impacts of tourism and hence sustainability. The tourism product in the WBR is based around consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife tourism and other nature-related activities such as horse-riding, mountain biking and walking. The tourist type is predominantly a nature-based or ecotourist who wishes to make use of the natural environment for sightseeing, relaxation, hunting, game-viewing or other outdoor activities. They tend to stay in up-market lodges, mid-market lodges, timeshares or second homes. The tourists are either international, mainly from Europe or North America or domestic South African.

The tourism product is continually evolving and as new entrants come into the market as identified in chapter four, this affects the type of tourism in the area. Developments owned or funded through large corporations and those from wealthy investors in the area have generally seen a movement to a more up-market or exclusive product which focuses more on the affluent international tourist.

This movement up-market combined with how the private sector see the area have implications for STD in the WBR. For example one public sector tourism official is very critical of the exclusive tourism product and the power of these up-market operators as they fundamentally change the nature of what is being offered. Moving up-market requires significant funding and this often comes from large corporations or wealthy individuals often from overseas (PS4; AC5, 2010). As per the tourism development literature on who often has power and control of the tourism industry, this exemplifies that it is big business and wealthy elites and to some extent this reaffirms notions of dependency (Britton, 1982). PS4 sees that this type of tourism takes away the sense of place of the 'bush' and a false, man-made product is being developed by the private sector that attracts the mainly international tourist and the domestic tourist is being priced out of the market:

“So you see it as quite an exclusive destination?”

Yes, there are a few places where the **ordinary man** can still go, but they are not that well advertised. So the Waterberg is becoming **exclusive**, it's the playground of the **rich people** and that's bad.

And who is responsible for that?

I think like your big places such Game Reserves 4 and 5. They've got investment, so they bring people from overseas to invest and that they expand. And immediately they've got golf estates. If you have a **golf estate it is exclusive**, the **ordinary man** will never get into. If you don't have a pass to say that you are booked in there, it's very **difficult even just to go into**, for a coffee or for a Coke or something of a lunch or whatever and get out, so **it's become exclusive**. There are smaller places yes, but they are three star and they are planning to become four-star. And as soon as they go up a level they **put up their prices**.

And do you see that as sustainable?

No. Now it's just getting these people from places like Los Angeles or wherever and it attracts a certain type of tourist and basically that will be people from outside the country. You need to have an interest in golf, because it's a golf estate and all the activities in the lodge, in the area you need a pass. It's **not for a normal, average South African** because if I'm standing in Pretoria of any big city and I want to get a break and want to experience nature, and see the stars, have a braai²², or to relax, and **that type of holiday is getting scarcer and scarcer**, people are building and they are **making things exclusive**. When you enter you see all that **luxury** around you, you don't get that feeling of bush, it is fading, how you say it, **it's very luxurious**. It's not like having the bush experience of the bush where I could sit outside, I'm going to look at the stars, my fire is there, I can hear the animals, the hyenas, the jackals or whatever, **it's become artificial**, everything is becoming artificial. Its **reproduction of luxury** into the Waterberg which is taking away the atmosphere of the bush, of what the Waterberg is really about and has to offer.”

(PS4, 2010)

When analysing discourses, speakers use semantic strategies to achieve their communicative goals (van Dijk, 1985). For example, in the discourse above there is a semantic contrast expressed between subsequent

²² South African word for 'barbecue'.

propositions; in this case up-market tourism (in blue) and mid-market or lower end tourism (in red). The semantic contrast operates as a rhetorical antithesis so as to make more effective (and therefore more defensible) the negative opinion about the alternative (ibid). Luxury tourism is seen by PS4 as the antithesis of what she sees as the real 'bush experience' that the 'ordinary man' has while in the Waterberg. The private sector therefore has the power to change the type of tourism being offered as there is no control over grading in the region. As PS5 states:

"First everyone has a freedom to develop themselves to whatever level, everyone has the latitude of attracting sponsors without any interference from the government and that to me has resulted in the existence of these big, expensive facilities that we have around here. Everyone has got the freedom to develop to whatever level, so we cannot stop that because it creates employment for local people, it also projects a very positive image of the country even those establishments that are in the Waterberg. But there is a need that the government has to realise, that the lower-level class establishment can also enjoy the benefits."
(PS5, 2010)

The above discourse represents a very hands-off, market-oriented, neoliberal approach to the private sector from the public sector, allowing them a considerable amount of leeway and power to develop their establishments as they see fit. One accommodation owner whose market is mainly international tourists from Europe and North America, states that an increasing number of these tourists are booking packages through tour operators in their country of residence (AC1, 2010). Another states that he is constantly having to upgrade his facilities to compete for visitors (AC8, 2010), while others state that it is becoming a very hard place to make money from tourism (AC9; AC10; AC11; AC12, 2010). This movement to a more upmarket destination has implications for the sustainability of the industry. It places increasing pressure on the accommodation sector to upgrade their products and thus consume more resources. Upmarket establishments generally consume more resources, than do lower graded ones, particularly water (Birkin, 2003) and in an area where water is scarce, this has implications for the sustainability of

these establishments and the region. Competition in the private sector in tourism can be intense and it can be a fickle industry with demand influenced by a number of external factors meaning that the fittest and most adaptable survive.

The development of the tourism product has primarily focused on the activities related to the natural environment, while cultural tourism has been marginal to this. The WBR did receive funding through the European Union to develop Telekishi, a black community-based initiative in a remote part of the region described in chapter four. There is a recognition from the black interviewees that they have lost much of their culture and it has become Westernised (CS8; PS3; PS5; LC1, 2010). The legacy of apartheid though is never far from the surface.

“Yes you are right they have lost their own culture. When I started thinking of initiating this [Telekishi], then it was coming to me that's why can't we go back to our own culture because I can see the vendor's they used to wear their own traditional clothes, the Zulus wear their own traditional clothes, but ourselves, the Pedi we don't wear other cultures clothes. Yes they have lost their own culture, it is not completely lost, but they have deviated from that.

How does that make you feel?

I'm a little bit scared, I'm not feeling all right about that because if you don't know where you are coming from you won't know where you are going. That's why I have initiated this. I could have just gone for some motels or other fancy things but we blacks sometimes we think of culture it is something barbaric, primitive, whereas culture it is your roots and if you don't have your roots, then how can you get some flowers.”

There is also a semantic contrast in this discourse between the Zulu and the local Pedi culture. The inference being that the Zulus are more open and proud of their cultural roots, whereas the Pedi's culture has been diluted and is seen as unworthy of show. The view that the black population have of their own culture of being 'barbaric' or 'primitive' is a discourse that has its roots in colonialist discourse and is a representation of institutionalised power

relations in both pre and post apartheid South Africa (Levett et al, 1997). These ideas relate to the discussion in the previous chapter on how 'the Other' is seen.

This idea is developed by PS3, a black, senior manager in LEDET who states that there has been a negative connotation from the black population in that cultural tourism is about performing a dance for white tourists at an upmarket white-owned lodge for some food and a small payment. He does recognise that cultural tourism does have value if it can be developed, controlled and managed by people from the local, black culture and the benefits accrue to the local population. He sees that culture is a part of the tourism product and that the local black population need educating regarding this and performing for tourists is not demeaning, but it is about cultural appreciation.

“Look I wouldn't say, of course there has been a feeling that that they only wanted to dance and get a few shillings, that has developed a bit of a negative attitude, but I wouldn't say that people are not willing to show their culture, it is more about understanding and exposure and massive beneficiation out of this. If you go to Telekishi, which is purely black owned, to understand the massive impact of a cultural village, there won't be any problems because it took a long process to convince people that this is ultimately not about looking at you dancing and we're laughing at you and we are from America, it's about economic beneficiation, your culture is a product. Now education about that thing is what has been lacking. If you get old people and young people in the village and to make them understand that this is a product, there won't be any problem, but people have not been assisted to, to open their eyes to the fact that it is not about cultural humiliation, but it is about appreciation of a different culture and people.”
(PS3, 2010)

There is a linking of culture and the economy in this discourse and there are a number of perspectives from which this discourse can be viewed. First, this discourse links back to the framing of 'the Other'. How cultures are viewed depends on what is being offered and who is doing the viewing and under which circumstances. Here, the perspective is that the African culture has value and that tourists are willing to pay for cultural experiences. Second, this does throw issues concerning authenticity (MacCannell, 1973; Cohen 1988),

and the commoditisation of cultures. PS3 states that this is not a problem as Telekishi is community owned and which also involves issues of power and control. This kind of tourism product arguably fits well with 'new tourists' (Poon, 1993) and those with a desire to experience something different in the area, rather than just out-door based recreation. Telekishi has struggled to lure tourists in as it does not have adequate funding for marketing, nor the staff with those skills (CS8, 2010). As Briedenhann and Wickens (2004b) note, size and lack of funds renders most rural tourism businesses unable to embark upon meaningful marketing campaigns of their own. This also supports the findings of Holder (1989) in that entrepreneurs lack experience or education to market products to foreigners which are the main market for Telekishi. In South Africa responsibility for this therefore devolves to public sector bodies. In this instance, there is no active marketing of cultural tourism products at local/district level and it is very limited at provincial level with Telekishi not featuring on the Limpopo Tourism Agency website golimpopo.com.

The tourism industry is perceived predominantly as a white controlled industry. The discourses centre on a racial divide in the industry whereby tourists and businesses dealing with tourists are seen as white, while the black population are seen as the workforce, PS3 continues:

"The farm managers are white, the land owners are white, the tourists are white, **we** don't have the money to come and spend, the only money **we** get is to spend on food for children, so that's not mainly **our** field, it's been there always."
(PS3, 2010)

The connotation in the discourse is that whites have economic control over the industry, that they have surplus money to spend on luxuries such as tourism, while the blacks can only satisfy their basic needs. The use of the personal and possessive pronouns 'we' and 'our' (in bold) relates to the black population, even though his personal circumstances are different from the majority of the black population. The fact that he states 'it's been there always' correlates with the historical and political contexts in this case study and highlight how power has been and is still in the hands of the whites, whether

they be the consumers or the producers of the tourism product. This concurs with the findings of Briedenhann and Wickens (2004a, p177); “Whilst integration has occurred in many other areas of South African business and society, tourism remains predominantly a ‘white man’s thing’.” There is a view from another black public sector tourism official that township tourism²³ could be developed:

“There is a lot of significant history and beautiful stories about the development of this township, about a lot of things around that we would love to expose our visitors to, but we don’t have enough capacity to draw them in ourselves.”
(PS5, 2010)

There is an inference in this discourse that help is needed. The ‘we’ is most likely a reference to the black community. If the black community do not have the capacity to entice visitors and develop the tourism product, then the black population need outside help from those who have ‘capacity’, that is the whites. The black community needs capacity building and that comes from outside their community, therefore the control of cultural tourism development is predominantly outside the hands of the local, black communities. PS5 continues, stating that in order for the industry to really benefit the black population, SME development assistance is required. The mention of the township, its stories, development and history reflects a potential knowledge of ‘township tourism’ which has become popular across the country (Steinbrink, 2012). This discussion has implications for equity, social justice, empowerment, access to resources and hence SD/STD within the area. If the economic benefits of tourism are to spread, then it is potentially through the development of alternative or community-based tourism. In the short-term, this is unlikely due to a lack of access to current tourist markets and a lack of resources to develop alternative types of tourism.

²³ Township tourism is generally organised trips to areas of urban poverty, known as townships in South Africa (Steinbrink, 2012).

8.2.3 Appropriate and Inappropriate Development

As is shown above, the type of tourism in the region affects sustainability concerns in the WBR. The active stakeholder discourses also show that there are appropriate and inappropriate tourism developments in the area which determine whether tourism can be an appropriate option for SD/STD. The types of tourism mentioned above which predominantly revolve around either the natural or cultural environments are generally seen as appropriate by the respondents. The discourses which emerge from the interviewees are based around appropriate/inappropriate tourist types, levels, activities and developments. This notion of what is deemed appropriate invokes notions of power and knowledge. Views on such subjects require knowledge about the land, the economy and how the tourism industry functions. This is the justification for interviewing active stakeholders as mentioned in the methodology chapter. Certain types of tourism considered inappropriate by some interviewees involve golf course developments, large-scale resorts and certain tourist attractions such as the small-scale zoos in the area (BS5; AC3; AC8; AC9; AC10). All these types of tourism are not seen as either economically or environmentally beneficial to the area. Specifically, second homes come in for criticism from a number of interviewees, with the WBRMC chair and a former WNC chair summarising these views:

“I think that people that have lived here have seen a tremendous transition away from conventional agriculture to conservation, but also to leisure farming, that is the holding of leisure properties in the Waterberg. So we’ve seen a change in land use and from a conservationist’s point of view that’s not always positive. From an economic point of view, it imposes great challenges because **hardly any employment** has been created in this area and we estimate that about **40% of the leisure properties are without any economic driver** at all. We’re talking about retirement homes or second homes. There’s a danger as well that you get a **fragmentation of the environment** in that process because people have quite small properties and if the value of your property is inversely proportional to the size – **people are really just looking for a title deed** that they can build a house on and have a glorified garden. They might introduce some species, but they’re **not proper ecological units** at all and because it’s a retirement

situation, there's **no economic driver, so no tourism and employment.**
(CS6, 2010)

Oh I mean what is a factor here of course is the landownership patterns, I mean we have a very high percentage of absentee landowners that just use this for their personal recreation over the weekends. They **contribute nothing** to the area, their **land is not accessible for tourism**, it **stands in the way** of creating bigger blocks of land, they are **not part of the community**, they are **not interested in any kind of branding** of the Waterberg or promotion of the Waterberg, they are a real drag, they, by and large they **don't contribute to the schools, the churches, the sports clubs, the local economy**, they **contribute nothing to the local economy**, they **employ very few people**, **there's no economic activity taking place on their properties** and they are a **drag on the whole area.**"
(AC8, 2010)

The language in bold in the above discourses frames the retirement/second home phenomenon in a particularly negative light. These concerns reflect the literature on second home developments mentioned in chapter four. For example Hoogendoorn, Mellett and Visser (2005) find that the tourism second home developments in South Africa do not offer a sufficient range or permanency of employment opportunities for the local poor populations and that these developments can have serious environmental impact if not appropriately planned. They also assert that they tend to be a reflection of the wider race-class issue in South Africa, with most second homes being owned by whites. While no empirical data is available, the second homes in the Waterberg are according to a real estate agent interviewed, predominantly owned by whites (BS3, 2010). The economic linkages between the tourism sector and other economic sectors are also limited for this market. AC9 (2010) states that most weekender tourists buy almost everything in Gauteng, bring it with them, consume what they've bought and return, spending very little in the local area. This also has implications for STD in the region as weak economic linkages do little for income and employment opportunities generating low multiplier levels, often a cause for concern in peripheral areas (Dearden, 2010; Lacher and Nepal, 2010b). The real estate agent and a number of

others expressed severe reservations about overdevelopment of second homes from both economic and environmental perspectives, with water being a specific problem (BS4; BS5, CS2; AC2; AC3; AC8; AC9; AC10; AC12; AC13, 2010). The discourse above highlights an area of concern for the sustainability of the region, both from tourism and general developmental perspectives and does not generally fit with the STD imperatives outlined in chapter three.

8.2.4 Government Control of Tourism Development

The section on appropriate/inappropriate tourism above identifies a distinct discourse about what should and should not occur in the region. The next stage is to examine discourses surrounding how tourism is controlled. As identified in chapter three, land use planning is a major part of STD (Inskeep, 1991; Gunn, 1994). Also one of the fundamental aspects of destination development is the need for the planning and management at all levels of government, but particularly at the local level as this is where the effects of development are most acutely felt (Tosun, 2000). Strategic land-use planning along with effective mechanisms for implementation, enforcement and monitoring are required to ensure the optimisation of environmental resources. The need for effective planning was a common discourse of a number of respondents and is summed up by AC3:

“I think the critical thing is the political will and that's something we've really struggle with, because what we need is planning control and when we need it is now.”
(AC3, 2010)

What is of a particular concern in this case-study is that nearly all the active stakeholders interviewed mentioned the lack of control over development within the WBR. The reasons for the lack of control as given by the interviewees are many and include those identified in chapter four and include political will, corruption, and a lack of capacity and resources in government.

Landowners can effectively build what they want on their land with relatively little interference and developers can get around environmental impact

assessments (EIAs) through either a lack of enforcement from government or them hiring expensive lawyers and going through the courts.

“We’ve seen any number of those where glib, short-termist highly mercenary property developers come in, buy up some land from a distressed farmer, that’s how it tends to work, and then they parcel the land into small pieces, using smart lawyers to get around the poorly enforced legislation that’s available, so they can sneak their divisions through quasi-legally. Government doesn’t have the capacity to enforce the very good legislation and environmental protection – it has state-of-the-art legislation, but no enforceability and the developers know that and their agents and attorneys know that. They’re then able to generate a piece of land that is divided into 100,200 or 400 plots and then they go into the shopping malls in Gauteng and flog those with beautiful pictures of the Waterberg. ‘You too can own this view’.”
(AC2, 2010)

The lack of capacity within government in South Africa is highlighted in chapter four and emphasised by AC2. The outcome of this has direct implications for SD in the WBR. As highlighted above regarding second home developments, the outcome is potentially developments which contribute little economically to the area and are damaging to the environment, particularly from a resource use perspective. This highlights power positions in development. The WNC and the WBR as civil society organisations have tried to fight these developments, but as AC2 and a number of other interviewees state (CS6; AC8, AC12) environmental legislation is generally very good in South Africa, it is the implementation of legislation at local level that is problematical, concurring with Wilhelm, Reichmann and Cowling (2013). The production of the EMF and the BMP should in theory allow the district and provincial planners to more effectively plan development, however capacity issues may hinder their implementation. On a small developmental scale one of the Smith family (BS5) has a planning proposal in for a development on one of the family’s properties. It is essentially a second homes development, but it is being pitched as a ‘cultural village’ and goes against the number of dwellings that are permitted per hectare.

“You mentioned about not fitting in with the biosphere

guidelines. Is that an on-going issue or is it something that you can get around?

It has been an issue and we are hoping to work around it. I think that our farm was always a village, because there used to have a shop on it, before Vaalwater became the main village. I feel that we have not been zoned correctly and so that's the argument that we are going to use and I think it's a very valid one. And of course just down the road you've got Leseding around Vaalwater which is growing by the day, there's *no sewerage, no water* and one feels that to put up twenty four houses with proper, where we have to *put in a proper recommended kind of sewerage and all those things and proper roads*, and then just *down the road you have chaos*."

(BS5, 2012)

The conversation above raises a number of points: that guidelines can be circumvented; that there is a historical aspect to how land should be demarcated, zoned and treated and that there is essentially a difference between developments for the poor and the rich are treated. The semantic contrast between the township (in blue) and a development aimed at the second homes market (in red) exemplifies this difference. There is a connotation that BS5 'does things properly' – follows the regulations regarding sewerage, whereas the poor do not. There is then a contradiction which has connotations linked to power and ideology. On the one hand BS5 follows legislation, but then states she is be able to 'work around' other legislation. This requires knowledge of that legislation and presumably lawyers who can circumvent it, invoking both economic power and that related to Foucauldian notions of knowledge and power (Foucault, 1980). The South African government along with poor black population are seen as a threat to the environment placing economic development ahead of sound environmental planning (Ballard and Jones, 2011)

Concerns over the capacity and resources of government, particularly at district level, to deliver the requisite services required to aid development are a common theme across all stakeholder groups. In terms of capacity, the primary discourse surrounds the ability of officials to fulfill their responsibilities. This is due to a lack of skills from public sector employees regarding what the

position demands. (PS1; BS3; CS1, CS5, 2010) and a lack of resources:

“I mean I cannot believe a lot of the government organisations don’t have access to email, I mean, you know, their telephone accounts aren’t being paid, you can’t phone them, you know, you can’t get hold of these people you can’t do business like that. The capacity is not there where it needs to be, I don’t think the capacity of government was ever at a level it should have been in the last 30 years I don’t think it’s been like that. They had different structures and I think, I’m just thinking of something, maybe they had less control and they had people in a position, competent people to make decisions, now it’s everything’s got to filter up, you know, it goes through fifty different levels to get to a place to final sign-off, you know, so it is a mistake, no-one takes responsibility.”
(AC12, 2010)

AC12’s discourse above makes an inference to the contrast between the public sector before and after apartheid. Contextually this discourse has an inference that things were somehow better under apartheid. As a white senior manager who now deals with government departments as part of his job, this could be construed as a discourse underpinned by his ideological stance regarding pre and post apartheid.

Another accommodation owner is highly critical of both the type of development and the planning process:

“We’re having pepper pot development²⁴ all over the Waterberg. Game Reserve 3 was a classic example as it’s right in core area of the biosphere, and what they doing there in terms of water is completely unsustainable. Water consumption, traffic, they have 150 units on an area which is much too small for 150 units and there is legislation to control that at the moment. AC6 is pulling his hair out as the politician at the last minute just hasn’t done it and he suspects that there is money changing hands between the developers and the politicians.”
(AC3, 2010)

The aspect of corruption in South Africa was highlighted in chapter four and

²⁴ Development which is generally spatially scattered and unplanned.

according to a number of private sector respondents, it is also of concern within the Waterberg (BS3; AC3; AC5; AC8; AC10, 2010). It is seen as endemic when dealing with the public sector at all levels and particularly with regard to politicians. Politicians are also particularly criticised by public sector officials as focusing on the short-term and on interfering in the planning process:

“The main challenges are **political challenges**, because **as a planner** we will receive the application. For example if someone wants to develop something in the biosphere, and **as a planner** I object to something in the application and we don't want to have that type of developments in the biosphere, but because of **political influences**, but the president of some organisation says you must build these things, but **as a planner** we are not allowed to do that. So because of the **political influences** we are forced to do something that we are not allowed to do in terms of the plans.”
(PS2, 2010)

The discourse from a planner who is responsible for determining the outcome of planning applications emphasises his role (in red) and also what affects his role (in blue). These sentiments are also echoed by other public sector officials who see politicians' self-interest as over-riding planners' decisions. Politicians need to be seen as being pro-development as this enables re-election (PS3; PS4, 2010). This relates to the findings of the Auditor General of South Africa as mentioned in chapter four. PS2 also articulates how the public sector have been very poor at enforcing planning law and developers have realised this and have either been able to use the courts, bribe politicians or just flout the law and develop without consent, knowing that there will be few or no consequences. Power structures shape tourism development and the broader economic and political concerns need to be taken into consideration argues Church (2004), with corruption and power abuses being a part of this. The sentiments regarding planning are also expressed by a number of landowners who have seen developments being erected on neighbouring farms that have no planning consent (AC1; AC8; AC9; AC13, 2010). The public sector officials themselves recognise governmental limitations in terms of enforcement, with one being very critical

of their effectiveness:

“As a planner we are trying to develop a strategy to control those developments in the Waterberg. But not now, now we don't really control things.”
(PS2, 2010)

As stated in chapter four, biospheres do not have any legal authority regarding planning law in South Africa. This complicates matters concerning the responsibilities of the various levels of government. PS3 who is a senior manager for LEDET at the provincial level highlights these issues. Summarising, he states that there is a lack of clarity in terms of who must do what at which level, causing planning inertia and poor decision-making resulting in opportunities for exploitation by developers (PS3, 2010). As Raymond and Brown (2007) state in chapter three, land use planning at local levels affects resident quality of life and tourism planning decisions need to be integrated into local land use planning and political decision-making bodies. This is patently problematic in the WBR and has serious implications for the sustainable development of not just the tourism industry, but the WBR as a whole.

There is also a perception that the result of lack of development control is essentially a type of free-for-all for the private sector in terms of what they can do to land. This has implications for the carrying capacity of the area, mentioned in chapter three as one of the principles of STD (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). While a number of respondents mentioned carrying capacities (PS3; PS4; BS4; BS5; CS2; AC10, 2010) the general feeling was that tourism levels could still increase, although certain types of tourism needed controlling as mentioned above. This has implications for the type and level of tourism development, which as was shown in chapter three, determines the impacts of tourism (Mason, 2008). The notion of what are appropriate/inappropriate types of tourism mentioned in 8.2.3 along with the lack of control has implications for STD in the region. The limited economic benefits along with low multipliers, lack of employment opportunities along with equity concerns and environmental concerns mean that the industry is

currently far from a sustainable one. The tourism industry in the WBR is primarily private sector led and they are largely left to pursue their own interests. This concurs with the findings of Briedenhann and Wickens (2004a) in tourism in South Africa. The discourses above also relate to how the planning process operates. It is an active social process involving agency (Giddens, 1976) whereby social meanings are constructed through discourse and language, and in which social practices are shaped and given legitimacy (Healey, 1998). The WNC through their discourse and interactions created the WBR, but now it has become a material reality the planning associated in the area is influenced by active agency. The meanings, values, and ways of acting, affect how planning policy is developed and implemented.

8.3 The Biosphere, Power and Discourses of Sustainable Tourism Development

Power is one of the main themes throughout this work and is a central tenet of any CDA analysis as explained in the methodology chapter. Power is also examined in the literature-based chapters and forms the basis of the stakeholder analysis in chapter seven. Issues of power have also been prevalent in the discourse analysis so far. This section now synthesises these different elements and examines stakeholder power in terms of both individual and collective power and how this affects sustainability concerns in the WBR. The context of the biosphere reserve is also brought into this analysis whereby a multi-stakeholder approach involving local communities is a key focus of SD within the biosphere concept. The following section discusses the biosphere with respect to STD focusing specifically on active stakeholder groups and individuals regarding power issues in the WBR.

8.3.1 Stakeholder Involvement in STD – Stakeholder Groups and Power

That various active stakeholders have differing perspectives on numerous concerns and as was shown in chapter three, four and seven these perspectives can come from institutional logics, ideologies, knowledge or societal roles. As a result of this, conflict can arise in and between various individuals and groups. The concept of the biosphere is no exception to this and a range of discourses have emerged from the active stakeholders. While

some stakeholders argue that there is social cohesion between communities, others argue that there are a number of divides and the biosphere has implications for both these perspectives.

One of the characteristics of biosphere reserves is that they should focus on multi-stakeholder approaches, emphasising local communities in management (UNESCO, 2011), thus fulfilling the participation aspect of SD. As was shown in chapter four, the WNC were responsible for the setting up of the biosphere which is currently run by a management committee. As UNESCO has in principle approved the WBR expansion, the committee will have to have shown that they are fulfilling their mandate. This notion of participation is questioned by some active stakeholders as for them, the biosphere is not about stakeholder participation, but is about conflict and a lack of participation and community involvement (BS3; CS3; AC11, 2010). This conflict relates to the personalities involved and issues of power, but also from the perspective of how it was set up, why and that there was and still is a sense that the biosphere is for a small section of the community.

There are numerous organisations that have an influence to some extent on whether the WBR fulfils its objectives. These are identified in the stakeholder mapping section of chapter seven and include public sector organisations at national, provincial, district and municipality levels, private sector and civil society organisations. If an organisation is to achieve what it is designed to do, then it must have the institutional capacity to do this. On analysing the data from the interviewees it is evident that the notion of institutional capacity emerged as a particular frame relating specifically to the capacity of the WBR as an organisation and also the capacity of the public sector, at the regional and local levels. When institutions have capacity they have the ability to set goals, acquire resources, develop relationships and solve problems to achieve their objectives. The active stakeholders have specific views on this. The formation of the WBR from the land-owning WNC members had major implications on how the WBR was to function as an organisation. As was shown in chapter four, the first seven years or so of the biosphere were problematical from a resourcing perspective. This was due to both a lack of

financial and human resources for the organisation. Below is part of a conversation that refers to the initial period when the WBR was set up.

“Well it was never clearly thought through, it’s a kind of a muddle. In the end the area that became the biosphere reserve was the area belonging to those who were members of the Waterberg Nature Conservancy plus a few add-ons to try and give it a biosphere reserve presence but it’s full of anomalies.

For instance?

There isn’t a coherence about it.

What kinds of anomalies exist in the biosphere?

Geographic, lack of commitment from many of the landowners, incorporation of the lower income communities, I think almost for window dressing purposes. But most of all the problem with it has always been that it never went out and raised the funds to give itself some institutional capacity. In my view these, I’ve been involved in organisations all my life, unless they have real institutional capacity they always, they struggle. I won’t say they are a waste of time but they struggle. I think if there had been a champion, a paid champion, poor CS6 has given up huge time and done a wonderful job and I’m, you know, I don’t want any of this to be taken as a criticism of CS6 because I think he’s done a fantastic job in keeping it going but if there had been a full-time champion, that champion would have got us as landowners involved in a process of our properties being monitored and set certain standards and goals and things like that.”

(AC8, 2010)

The incorporation of the lower income communities for window dressing purposes is viewed by AC8 as an anomaly. This could be construed that these communities had no place in the initial set up and were there just for show. The framing of the discourse surrounds institutional capacity and how this is needed in organisations. The WBR has a wide-ranging mandate and according to AC8 and other active stakeholders (AC6; AC8, 2010), this cannot be fulfilled unless it has a person to champion the concept and institutional capacity. This notion of institutional capacity is important and as Healey (1998) notes where it is absent, it can lead to the promotion of self-interest or

conflict. In the WBR's case both occur and are discussed below. Another view related to this is that the biosphere has not been able to fulfil what it set out to do due to a lack of capacity in terms of its administrative function. This also stems from a lack of financial resources. While the WBR committee members were given specific responsibilities, there were no full-time personnel employed by the biosphere to carry out all the necessary activities. All committee members have other roles which allow them little time to devote to the biosphere.

“Another thing that is **not functioning** at the moment is that the biosphere has **not got off the ground** in terms of its administrative function and that is a **drawback** at this stage. The biosphere **is not visibly seen** in the community.”
(CS2, 2010)

This is quite a negative discourse (negative lexical terms in bold). The result of there being a lack of organisational capacity within the WBR meant that during the initial years, very little was achieved in terms of moving the WBR forward from its initial inception and as CS2 observes, there is a lack of awareness. For one stakeholder who has been actively involved in the WBR through the WNC, there are a number of concerns with the biosphere and engaging stakeholders:

“The biosphere doesn't mean much to me, I don't think it's of any... I think it could still be taken somewhere and I think that maybe when they get a champion, they've got the money for it now, but the private landowners, I don't think they're worth a row of beans when it comes to conservation.”
(AC8, 2010)

This alludes to another of his comments earlier on the landowners having a lack of commitment to the biosphere. The inference is they wanted the benefits of the biosphere, but were not willing to actively develop initiatives regarding all the aspects relating to SD which are part of putting biospheres into practice. The prevailing attitude being that they can do what they want with their land and there is little or no control over development as was stated previously. In this context it also has connotations of power, that the private

sector has power to act as they see fit with an associated lack of power from the public sector. The fact that AC8 states that the WBRMC chair, AC6, has worked hard to get credibility with local government represents the perspective that AC6 is central to the functioning of the biosphere and invokes notions of power. AC6 is discussed in more detail in the following section.

While the tourism product is predominantly created and developed by the private sector, there is a distinct lack of cooperation among private sector business and also between the private sector and other stakeholders in the public sector and civil society. AC8 and a number of others also recognise the need for more government development of the tourism product and closer cooperation between sectors (PS2; PS3; PS5; CS3; BS2; AC3; AC11; AC12; AC13, 2010):

“NGO’s don’t play a role in tourism, I mean things like the [Waterberg Nature] Conservancy and the Waterberg Welfare Society put some glue into the society here and make the society more stable, but they don’t impact on tourism. I mean here it’s between landowners and the province and the municipality, those are the three actors who have to put it together, although there is little cooperation between them.”
(AC8, 2011)

In this case-study the lack of cooperation between sectors is a major stumbling block to moving down a more sustainable pathway. The prevailing discourse emerging from the active stakeholders is that individual businesses look after themselves, the NGOs have their own interests and government has little to do with tourism. This supports the findings of Wang and Krakover (2008) who note that cooperation in the tourism industry is limited, particularly among tourism businesses who see each other as being in competition. While different sectors do not generally cooperate, there are also ideological differences between groups within the WBR.

There is a perceived difference between agricultural farmers and conservation-orientated game farmers as they come from different communities both racially and ideologically. The WNC and WBR have,

according to AC2 (2010), been predominantly seen as white, English-speaking organisations that have been set-up, managed and controlled by conservationists with too much time and money on their hands to do anything else.

“But I think there is an inclination among them [Afrikaner farmers] and we know several well, that those of **us** who **favour the environment** and the Conservancy are **bunny huggers**²⁵, **we’re not real, we’ve got too much damn money** and **we don’t have to do a decent day’s work** out there in the field where it’s **bloody tough to try and eke out a living**. There’s a distance and language issue as well. Most people in the Conservancy and the Biosphere are **English speaking** and most people in **commercial farming are not**.”
(AC2, 2010)

In the above discourse the pronouns related to the WNC and the associated descriptions are in blue, while those of the farming community are in red. The WBR was initiated by those from the WNC and while they have some power, the ideological discourse is one of rich, white, English-speaking, ecocentric landowners. As stated in chapter three the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993) is relevant to the WNC they have similar belief systems to come together to form a coalition to influence the direction of development in the region. As Schultz et al (2005) state, it is values that underlie environmental attitudes and behaviour and the values of the WNC members have both economic and environmental aspects. Ellis (1997) finds that conservation is mainly a white person’s issue and while all WNC members are white, the discourses show that it is not just race, but ideology that underpins conservationist views. It could also be argued that the private sector institutional logics mentioned in chapter six relating to affect this group of stakeholders. These include utilitarian logics relating to profit and their business operations, but also normative ones which relate to altruism, status and environmental concerns. Which is more important to each individual will determine his/her position regarding SD/STD.

²⁵ ‘Bunny huggers’ refers to people who are nature lovers, but who generally champion fauna over flora.

All the WNC members interviewed spoke at length about the need for environmental protection particularly as they make their living from tourism and a need for more stringent development controls over land use (AC2, 3, 8, 10, 2010; CS1, 2, 2010; CS7, 2011). However, it is land use that drives them and not species protection or conservation, which fits with the findings of Bond (2004) mentioned in chapter four. The previous chapter shows that there is a strong conservation discourse and while the tourism industry is a resource dependent industry which needs an attractive environment to lure in tourists (Hall and Page, 2000) this represents only one aspect of sustainability and is a parochial view of conservation and SD. While appearing altruistic, according to some WNC members (AC2; AC8), their motives for forming the conservancy and pushing the biosphere formation had as much to do with power over their destiny, self-interest, protecting property and enhancing property values as it did with land conservation. As Ellis (1997, p54) states:

“conservation requires government action to control land and the people and animals which occupy it. In other words, it requires the control of both natural and human resources, which is the stuff of power”.

The WNC members knew full well what the biosphere would mean when they looked to initiate the WBR, as AC2 states:

“Many of the landowners are enlightened self-interest, often not altruism for its own sake, and there are people like the Jones’s who are extremely altruistic at great cost to themselves. I think altruism is fine, but it is usually motivated by some aspect of self benefit.”
(AC2, 2010)

As landowners in the area, the WNC members are all in a position of privilege in South Africa and have considerable sums of money tied up in land which has increased in value considerably since the early 2000s (Environomics and NRM Consulting, 2010). They are also predominantly well educated, globally mobile and have had careers which have enabled them to accumulate wealth (see appendix 3). Their initial power was in the biosphere formation and as was shown in chapter six, as Foucault argues, it is who controls not only the

discourse of development, but the associated actions that determine outcomes (Foucault, 1980), in this case the WBR. While the WNC do currently have some power, it is now limited. They have become more organised, but as the current chair states; as they have no legal authority or mandate, their power is restricted, although he does state that power does lie with the WBRMC as they do have a legal status (CS1, 2010). The WNC and the WBRMC have worked closely together affirming that power issues arise when actors in the tourism development process form links/groups to which develops networks of actors (Beritelli and Laesser, 2011). One of the former chairs of the WNC (AC8) mentions that the current chair (CS1) has been proactive in taking the organisation forward, increasing its membership base, helping the district municipality with the EMF, organising meetings and disseminating information and meeting minutes. These activities incorporate notions of power. Foucault (1980) argues that procedural power comes from an ability to determine outcomes through discourse and the WNC through their activities have been able to do so to some extent, thus affecting the ten year biosphere review and how tourism is to be developed in the future. AC8 argues that the WNC could do more, especially through communicating the positive and negative aspects of what is happening in the region:

“And they could use that communication instrument to start shifting positions, because what power is - power, can be exercised in many different forms, it isn't all about confronting and striking etc. Power through communication can be very effective. And if they could do that, I don't know, I think CS1 is reluctant.”
(AC8, 2011)

There is also a view from those with political power in the region do not fully support the concept of the biosphere. This is because tourism and particularly conservation of land for game reserves are the preserve of the white population. As mentioned in chapter four these views relate back to the apartheid era, where tourism development and conservation of land for tourism purposes has connotations relating to loss of land, forced labour and high taxes (Koch, 1997, Boonzaaier, 2012). One senior manager of LEDET states:

“There have been provincial level politicians who view biospheres as something that has been utilised to retain the wealthy status of people who have already been benefiting with the previous regime, because game farms and nature reserves and the hunting industry and tourism has never been a place for the majority of the people in the country. Now anything that is associated with game farms or hunting and reserves and biospheres, people look at it sceptically and it has been very difficult for us to get people convinced that we need to do this thing. We are starting to make inroads now, but I think it has been a very tedious, long road and journey. “
(PS3, 2010)

This also reinforces the notion that conservation is a white issue and invokes power positions; that the tourism industry is one dominated and controlled by whites for whites as was shown earlier in this chapter, but also that there is a power element to the type of tourism being perpetuated. While the ethos behind a biosphere is meant to be about development for all, what it actually becomes is a concept which reinforces ideological standpoints from those with knowledge and power related to a particular social construction of the world. As knowledge is related to power, knowledge of the biosphere is limited and this is discussed below with regard to individual active stakeholders in the WBR.

8.3.2 Stakeholder Involvement in STD – Individual Stakeholders and Power

The stakeholder analysis shows that power among the individual stakeholders is not equal in STD in the WBR. This section examines the power relating to individuals resulting from the discourses of the active stakeholders. Power issues relating to the biosphere are examined including: knowledge; buy-in and management.

Knowledge and Power

Both knowledge and power are strands that run through this thesis. As stated in the methodology chapter, discourse is the production of language through knowledge (Foucault, 1972) and discourse affects how ideas are put into practice and used to control others (Hall, 2001). Discourse, knowledge and

power are therefore linked. The active stakeholders interviewed display quite significant variations in their knowledge of the biosphere relating to its history, functions, characteristics and associated issues. These variations in knowledge range from what could be termed 'expert' or high levels of knowledge down to those who could articulate very little about the biosphere and had limited or low levels of knowledge. The WBRMC chair and most of the public sector officials and the acting CEO of Game Reserve 1 fall into the former category, while the land claimants fell into the latter. For one land claimant:

"We have attended a few meetings with the people who are running the biosphere. Really the biosphere, we don't know much about it. Actually, even now I cannot tell you what is a biosphere. I cannot tell you and we just heard the people talking about it. It is not even helping others or anything. We have just heard the name, we don't know what it does to us. May be you can tell us something about it, perhaps you can tell us about it."
(LC1, 2010)

The final section of the quote by LC1 above was said in almost a pleading voice. After the interview the core aspects of the biosphere were explained to them and again they expressed a desire for more help and information. It was evident from the interviews that the land claimants had heard this word from various people and had a desire for more knowledge, as they knew it was something that had an impact or implication for land ownership, but as to the details, they were predominantly in the dark. Bond (2004) identifies that land ownership is an issue in South Africa as new land owners do not have the knowledge, skills or finance to develop the land. Both sets of land claimants recognised this (LC1; L2, 2010). The spokesmen for the land claimants are both over 50 years old, meaning they were brought up during the apartheid years and would have had limited formal education and this was verified in their interviews. Their backgrounds are not in conservation, nor higher-level employment in organisations. This lack of knowledge means they have little power and their discourses reflect this. They may own land and are therefore active stakeholders, but if they do not manage their land from economic or environmental perspectives, the economic benefits will not accrue and the

land will be degraded, thus affecting sustainability concerns. This reflects the research of Boonzaaier (2012) into Masebe Nature Reserve in the WBR. He finds that local communities do not benefit from land, and while they are not necessarily interested in conservation they do have a desire to accrue tangible benefits from the Reserve.

The land claimants are in sharp contrast to those who could express much greater understanding of the biosphere. For example two of the interviewees who communicated a high level of understanding had PhDs (AC3, CS6), at least another three were educated to Masters Level (AC2, AC12, CS7) and the rest either to degree level or they had many years of experience in their relative careers (PS3, AC8, CS1, CS2). The exception to this is the Telekishi Project Manager and a WBR committee member whose knowledge of the biosphere has come through being heavily involved in the running of the organisation. Most of the respondents fell between the two extremes of knowledge, with round one third of the respondents having very limited knowledge. On further questioning they started to open up and express a degree of knowledge, but when initially faced with articulating views on what the biosphere is actually about, they struggled to go into any depth on the subject. This group often expressed an embarrassment in not knowing more as they are either business owners, landowners, long-term residents, in the accommodation industry or a combination of all of these (negative lexical terms in bold).

“Unfortunately, it [the biosphere] **doesn’t mean enough to me. I don’t truly understand** what the biosphere is doing and I should, I am one of those people who really should know what’s going on.
(AC1, 2010)

I would say, **not really**, it’s **not something I’m aware of** every day, it’s **not something I fully understand**. As an organisation, **I don’t get very much information. I don’t know** whoever implements whatever guidelines there are within the biosphere. **I don’t know** how I on a personal level become part of it, how it affects me on a short or long term basis. I am a **bit confused about it**. I think it’s something

great and that it's positive and which is unique, but in terms of my **personal understanding it doesn't go very far.**"
(BS1, 2010)

As active stakeholders in STD, these individuals have the ability to affect decisions regarding the sustainability of the tourism industry in the WBR. The biosphere is meant to be one way of implementing SD/STD, however a lack of knowledge of the concept is of concern for how the principles associated with the biosphere are communicated and implemented. One of the concerns which became apparent from some of the respondents was that their limited knowledge of the biosphere came from a lack of communication regarding the concept and/or the organisation (see BS1 quote above).

The Chair of the WBRMC, when asked whether the various stakeholders buy into the concept of the Biosphere and understand the concept of it, his reply was telling:

"No (laughs). I think from the landowner's point of view we need to do a much better job in communicating and bringing them on board and that's one of the criteria we've got from the person we employ. We're also developing our website to be much more interactive and dynamic so that landowners can feel more part of the biosphere. Up until now, because we haven't had any paid employees, it's been difficult to fulfil that demand. It's partly a communication problem and it's also because up until now, even now, but hopefully for not too much longer, the fact that this is a biosphere, hasn't actually meant from a legal point of view, that land-use has changed in any way. It's a biosphere on paper, but in practice it's just a status for the area."
(CS6, 2010)

Power concerns arise from this discourse. CS6 specifically mentions landowners are seen as critical to having more knowledge thus inferring the power of this group. He also mentions the website, access to which requires internet access and an ability and also desire to look for such information on the biosphere. The last point above regarding the WBR being essentially a paper designation has had profound effects on how the WBR has been able

to function both as an organisation and also how it is perceived. This relates to the institutional capacity of the organisation (mentioned in the previous section) and also its ability to fulfil the objectives of a UNESCO biosphere reserve. CS6 referred to the person to be employed. This person, (CS7) started their position in 2011 as biosphere coordinator:

One of my biggest **obstacles** at the moment is communication. There are huge expectations and a lot to achieve, but we have **limited institutional capacity**. It is really just me, part-time, **underpaid** and a **huge amount to do** and CS6 who is **unpaid** and **has other commitments**. I've helped, but what I've achieved has been **inadequate** in terms of what needs to be done. For example, regarding communication, it is one **baby-step forward**, but again, there are big expectations and delivering all this is very **difficult**.
(CS7, 2012)

A lexical analysis of the text above shows a predominantly negative discourse regarding communication (negative connotations in bold). If local communities do not understand the concept of the biosphere, then it is apparent that the objectives will be difficult to achieve, thus influencing the path of STD in the region. Both in the interviews and in a number of informal conversations while staying in the region, this theme emerges as being critical. As Healey (1998) notes the participation involves a sharing of information otherwise it leads to self-interest or conflict. From the active stakeholder discourses it is personal agency which has taken precedence over structural issues relating to SD and how to fully engage stakeholders in participatory processes. Healey also notes those who hold power can be difficult to restrain and bend to the strategies of the political communities of particular places. The situation in places is however dynamic and social forces and relations are continually being remoulded shaping what agency does. Within the WBR if knowledge levels increase, then potentially the participation rates may increase and power issues change. In the short term this is unlikely as those with power are unlikely to yield as self-interest over-rides structure.

Power and Biosphere Buy-in

As knowledge levels of the biosphere are often limited from those not directly

involved in the biosphere, the concept can evoke emotive discourses.

“There’s still quite a jaundiced opinion about what is this biosphere actually doing?

Is that a common opinion?

Certainly in the white community. Certainly in the white community it is and probably in the black community there is a lot of ignorance about it, a lot of people won’t even know that there is a biosphere.”(AC2, 2010)

The power position is that the black community are ignorant and the whites have an opinion, albeit a negative one. The concerns over the power regarding the biosphere relates to how individuals buy into the concept of the biosphere:

“This community has **never worked well together** and I don’t know why that is but it will happen, it will come eventually but I think people in this, they’re also very **wary to stick their necks out** to be the one that **caused the change** because it’s a small community, people talk, it’s a very small town so you don’t want to upset people too much but then again **people are getting upset** so (*laughs*).

I think probably you know if you have a lot of people that want to make change then if you all stick together it’s not just one person on their own is it?

No exactly, exactly but then that comes through the meetings and basically people have **given up** going to the meetings because they’ve **lost faith** in the biosphere so you’re going to have to have a whole new buy into the thing to get that, to get people to stand together to go to do, and I just don’t think a buy in is there at the moment.”
(AC11, 2010)

The discourse highlights the issues or concerns with trying to affect change (negative lexical aspects of discourse in bold) and how buy-in is problematical. There is a connotation that all is not well with the management of the biosphere. Here, the notion of buy-in to the biosphere concept is a prominent discourse as it is from a number of those interviewed (PS3; CS2; CS4; CS6; CS7; AC2; AC5; AC8; AC11; AC12; AC13, 2010). Without

knowledge, information, communication and communities and individuals working together, the problems of buying into the concept will continue to be seen as problematical. The link between conflicting communities and biosphere buy-in is articulated by AC8:

“The churches in Vaalwater won’t even talk to each other, not just the English and the Afrikaans but even between the Afrikaan’s churches, and this is the trouble with the Biosphere Reserve. AC6 runs the thing up here, good luck to him, he’s done well to keep it going and to build a relationship with the municipality and get them to understand their responsibilities and get them going, but there’s no buy-in into the Biosphere Reserve, none at all.”
(AC8, 2011)

The historical context is being emphasised in this discourse. These historical divides have implications on ideology and how communities see each other, how they cooperate and how they see development and concepts such as the biosphere. The biosphere is seen by some as predominantly an elitist, white, English-speaking concept which is controlled by a powerful elite who which has implications for buy-in from all sections of the community. In terms of the biosphere being a mechanism for SD, the active stakeholder discourses point to a lack of knowledge and buy-in, divided communities a lack of stakeholder participation, all undermining the ability of the WBR to be fulfill its mandate, affecting SD concerns.

Power and Biosphere Management

Continuing the theme above, one stakeholder was quite vocal regarding the power situation in the WBR. Below are some excerpts from a conversation regarding the management of the biosphere:

“I don’t have any faith in certain **management** of the biosphere I’m afraid. I have a serious issue with the **managing** or the **director** of the biosphere, being the **secretary**, being the **chairman** and being the **trustee** of... I mean it’s just not right, you cannot be all three of those things in one, in an organisation that is as big as it is supposed to be and that is being **funded** by the, gets **funded from overseas** and someone decides where to **distribute** it (*laughs*). **There should be more people involved.**

So you think the power is in...

The **power is in one person's hands**.

In one person's hands and it needs to be more accountable and transparent?

Oh for sure, no exactly, exactly because **no one actually has any idea what goes on**, where the **money** goes to or, so yah it's an issue, it's a big issue and it's a big, ah it's a **huge contention** in this town at the moment.

You said it's a problem, do people talk about it, do people get annoyed about it?

Well this week alone I've had five conversations exactly about this so yah, it's being discussed big time by lots of people. It's from business people and farmers and game farmers and rangers and just everyone, everyone wants to know what's going on so **there is no transparency**, yah. “
(AC11, 2010)

A discourse surrounding conflict was also apparent from an NGO owner in the region:

“To me a biosphere means conflict. Again, it's too many personalities trying to create this biosphere, but knowing very well that may be the **head of the biosphere**, the **head of whatever** is the **Treasurer**, is the.... There's **no accountability**, there's no.... So yah, I think it's **badly organised**.”
(CS3, 2010)

The terms associated with a management discourse are highlighted in bold with the associated discourses in red. What the above conversation shows is that there is a link between aspects of management of the biosphere, communication, transparency and power. The individual being referred to is the WBRMC chair, (AC6). Context, knowledge and ideology are all relevant when analysing either individuals or groups (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). In this case, historical aspects relating to landownership and the fact that AC6's family have been major landowners and employers in the area for over one hundred years makes them a powerful family. His education (PhD in developmental economics in South Africa from Cambridge University), status (business owner and employer, consultant in EMF process) and his position

as WBRMC chair and director responsible for finance also add to his central role in the area. The ideological beliefs of this individual as a central character have implications for STD in the WBR. EU funded projects such as the Meander and Telekishi along with current South African government funded ones on skills development have a bearing on the type and direction of tourism development in the area. The WBR operates under the mandate of UNESCO and therefore it is a version of sustainability influenced by this neoliberal oriented organisation which underpins the development ethos in the WBR. This is also discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Final Discourses

At the end of each interview each active stakeholder was asked whether they felt optimistic or pessimistic about the region. The discourses which emerge from this point to a group of people who are passionate about the area in which they live, they have a desire to see the poor develop economically, the environment to be protected and for their businesses or organisations to continue and be successful. They see individuals and groups of people who share their passion for the area and there is a desire and energy to make the area a serious conservation area which can also help to create employment. CS2 sums up the position for many:

“Oh yes, I’m very optimistic. I really don’t want to be anywhere else. I really think that this area has huge potential. I’m thrilled that the scientific and education side is at a world-class level and they are ready solid people here. I think that there is sufficient goodwill in part of the private sector who are getting involved in numerous concerns and activities and the welfare of those people who are less fortunate. That seems to be a hallmark, it almost seems to have been a philosophy that people embrace and it should continue.”
(CS2, 2010)

Despite all the problems that the area and the country faces and while the active stakeholders do highlight a number of issues and concerns concerning development generally and tourism specifically, they were all fairly optimistic that the situation will improve, not just for the wealthy, but also for the poor.

8.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the core themes of this thesis relating to STD in the context of discourse, knowledge, ideology and power. While it is recognised that tourism is one of the main economic development options within the WBR, there are a number of issues that have emerged from the discourses of the active stakeholders. The ability of the industry to generate significant levels of employment means that it cannot address the levels of unemployment in the area. SME development that is tourism related is almost non-existent and the type tourism product in the region means that there are limited opportunities for market entry. The industry is private sector driven with a movement to more up-market tourism which to some extent could be sustainable as it is low-volume, but this growing section of the industry is controlled by big-business or wealthy landowners affecting local multipliers and employment opportunities. The lack of involvement from government in tourism hinders its development and government is also criticised for not controlling development in the WBR. This is seen as one of the main concerns regarding SD/STD in the region. Government either lack resources, capacity or political will to control or develop the industry. Corruption within government is also seen as a barrier to SD. In terms of the biosphere reserve, it is predominantly seen as a white man's prerogative and a reflection of certain groups or individual's desire to conserve land and protect their investments as opposed to the wider issues of SD. Knowledge of and participation in the biosphere are limited, thus affecting sustainability concerns.

Chapter 9 - Data Analysis Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has used a number of themes to help uncover the extent to which tourism can contribute to SD in the WBR. Chapters two, three and four highlight the context under which this case-study occurs and the core themes identified in these chapters have been used to analyse the primary data. The three empirical chapters highlight a range of issues regarding these themes that relate to development concerns, SD, STD, power, ideology and knowledge. This chapter synthesises the context chapters with the empirical chapters to draw some conclusions regarding the aim of this thesis:

To examine active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve, South Africa to understand the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable development in the region.

To this end the analysis evaluates the case study evidence successively in relation to, first the development concerns and paradigms that underpin the active stakeholder discourses. Second, it discusses the concepts of SD/STD concerning the themes which have run through this work.

9.2 Development Concerns

As this thesis examines tourism as a development option, the notion of development has been a central theme running throughout the work. The literature chapters show that development causes a number of concerns from the local up to the global level, with the effects of the dominant economic paradigms of modernisation and neoliberalism being central to the critique. To develop appropriate conclusions to this study, this section examines some of the core issues of development theory in tandem with the key empirical findings in chapters six through to eight. When examining a case-study from a CDA perspective, the notion of context is critical, therefore all development concerns and associated discourses are situated in their historical, social, political and ideological contexts (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The discourses of

development of the active stakeholders need to be seen in the context of both development theory, where it comes from and also how the situational context of tourism development in rural South Africa relates to this. Notions of development as modernisation, neoliberalism, dependency and postcolonialism are all evident in various contexts.

The modernisation paradigm positions development based on trickle-down economics, (Hirschman, 1958), development as progress, dualist positioning of the developed and underdeveloped worlds (Kreutzmann, 1998) and that underdevelopment can be cured through various stages of economic growth (Rostow, 1960). All these aspects are evident in this study. The dualist discourse of communities in South Africa is apparent, through a distinct positioning of 'the Other' by both black and white stakeholders as shown in section 7.2. These discourses are historically situated in colonial, postcolonial and apartheid contexts whereby the dominant, superior, white discourses subjugate the black population to being economically and/or culturally inferior. The prevailing discourse as shown in section 7.2 is one that revolves around the poor being underdeveloped, needing development, upliftment and requiring help from those with the knowledge and power to achieve this. While these discourses of modernisation exist, they do so in the context of the case-study. As was shown in the micro level analysis in chapter four, for the rural poor in South Africa and Limpopo particularly, life has hardly changed since apartheid ended, with high unemployment and poor education. The emergent discourse from a number of active stakeholders in the WBR is that increasing educational and skill levels will lead to enhanced employment and economic development. This is a reductionist approach and while valid to some extent, it fails to take into account wider macro political-economic concerns or micro situational ones. Absent from any of the discourses is any mention of bottom-up, alternative or indigenous approaches to development. While the voices of the poor are not the focus of this work, they are represented by the active stakeholders as being in need of development in terms of education, training, skills and employment, all of which are seen to be a cure for their perceived problem. There is no mention from anyone interviewed, even the black, public

sector officials, of inward looking, self-development perspectives which reject Western notions of development (Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997).

Modernisation theory also points to nations being underdeveloped because the poor lack an economic cultural orientation (Roberts and Grimes, 2002). Discourses relating to this are evident in section 7.2 which indicate post-colonial perspectives relating to cultural orientations. Ideological perspectives of different cultures and communities are apparent from a number of respondents and in terms of how development is seen by the active stakeholders, there are also distinct dependency and post-colonial discourses. Chapter four highlights the legacy of apartheid and how South Africa is still a divided society. Divisions are evidenced in this case-study through not only the material aspects of economic development, but also how different sections of society are positioned and see each other. The discourses from the black active stakeholders resonate around the notion of inferiority and oppression while those of the whites are bound in Western notions of superiority. This is discussed further in section 9.3.2.

As Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) note, it is through discourse that neoliberalism has become the international development paradigm. The hegemonic, developmental discourse of private sector, market-led approaches underpins the respondent's views of development and fits with this paradigm. As the tourism product and the industry is controlled by private landowners, economic rationales may be expected, but even those in the public sector and civil society also hold neoliberal development views. Under neoliberalism there is a limited role for government and while they are seen as having a developmental function, they are also seen as ineffectual at local level. The general discourse surrounding these aspects of government is that their ability to deliver on the ground is limited due to a lack of political will, lack of resources and corruption problems. This concurs with the findings of Telfer and Sharpley (2008) that in developing countries, knowledge and resources are limited and corruption endemic. Infrastructure development in the WBR is seen as hindering development and therefore the private sector take an

individualist view that they need to look after their own concerns, thus reinforcing neoliberal ideologies.

9.3 Sustainable Development/Sustainable Tourism Development

One of the concerns highlighted in chapter three was that while the principles of STD map across to wider SD principles and objectives to some extent there are concerns regarding basic needs and quality of life improvements (see table 3.1). As numerous authors note, herein lies one of the fundamental problems of STD (Pigram, 1990; Craik, 1995, Hunter 1995, 1997; Sharpley, 2000, McCool, Moisey and Nickerson, 2001; Hardy, Beeton and Pearson, 2002, Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004, Sharpley and Telfer, 2008, Buckley, 2012). If tourism is to be a sustainable development option, it not only needs to adhere to principles of STD, but also those of SD. Biospheres are one way of putting SD into practice and as tourism is one of the main economic and land-use sectors within the WBR, how tourism is developed or seen to be developed has implications for SD. The following sections first focus on the wider issues associated with the principles of SD followed by an examination of tourism as a development option and the principles of STD.

9.3.1 Sustainable Development

The main findings of the analysis are synthesised in table 9.1 below which shows the main principles and objectives of SD mapped against the case-study as evidenced through the stakeholder analysis and active stakeholder discourses.

Principles and Objectives	Sustainable Development	Case-study Fit
Fundamental Principles	Holistic approach: development and environmental issues integrated with social concerns from global to local levels	Focus on local issues Neoliberal view of development Very weak position of SD
	Futurity: focus on long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem	Futurity important Environmental conservation priorities
	Equity: development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all in society, both in the present and the future	Divided society – apartheid legacy Unequal resource access Status-quo unlikely to change in short term Land-use knowledge and power
Development Objectives	Quality of life improvement for all including: education, life-expectancy & opportunities to fulfill potential	Modernisation and post-colonial discourses
	Satisfaction of basic needs: concentration on needs not just income	Neoliberal views
	Self-reliance: political freedom and local decision-making focused on local needs	Needs of poor not addressed Lack of faith in political system Individualism
	Endogenous development	Bottom-up development based on views of powerful Narrow view of community Poor have no voice
Sustainability Objectives	Sustainable population levels	Expanding township
	Minimal depletion of non-renewable natural resources	Land conservation Unsustainable use by rural poor

	Sustainable use of renewable resources	Ecological modernisation approach
	Pollution emissions within the assimilative capacity of the environment	Not seen as an issue
Requirements for SD	Adoption of a new social paradigm for sustainable living	Status-quo Some limited altruism
	Political and economic systems dedicated to equitable development and resource use	Government concerns over political will, resources, corruption Neoliberal economic system
	Technological systems that are aimed at generating solutions to environmental issues	Solar power technology development
	Global alliance facilitating integrated development policies at all levels of society	Focus on local

Table 9.1: Principles and objectives of sustainable development: case study fit

The holistic approach to SD sees that the three pillars of sustainability should be given equal importance from the local levels up to the global. The discourses which surround the position of SD in this case-study are generally ones of weak or very weak sustainability. There were no discourses which related to deep ecocentric positions evident in positions of very strong sustainability. As the dominant discourse is a neoliberal one, perhaps unsurprisingly, it is the economic objectives that are given prominence in the discourse with ecological objectives following. Social objectives are couched more in economic terms and although upliftment, empowerment and social mobility are present in the discourses, they are not prominent. Social cohesion as an objective is mentioned, but conflicts, racial positioning, ideological beliefs and the historical context of apartheid all mitigate against this in either the short or medium terms. There is recognition that the poor need economic development, but those in power use mechanisms to perpetuate the socio-economic status quo. For example, the seemingly

altruistic motives of the WNC are more about preserving a way of life and protecting/enhancing land values than wider SD concerns.

Furthermore, while a conservationist discourse exists, it is land and how it is used that is the main concern for many in positions of power. The environment is viewed primarily as an economic resource therefore the ecological modernisation approach to the environment is evident in the discourses (see section 7.3.2). While landowners espouse conservation, the findings augment that of Bond (2004) who argues that in South Africa it is land that is important and what it can be used for. Enhancing properties, buying wildlife which has a recreational value and managing land from economic perspectives are ways in which the landowners in the WBR see conservation.

From a SD perspective, there are two points to note regarding the land and the environment. First, the land is a non-substitutable natural resource and for stronger positions of sustainability to occur, it should not be exhausted and maintaining its functional integrity should be above its value as a human resource (Chiesura and Groot, 2003). This involves answering two questions: what resources should we preserve at all cost; and to what degree (Kuhlman and Farrington, 2010)? Answering these involves belief systems, values and ideological approaches, which are the second aspect of land, environment and SD. Regarding this case-study, the answers to these questions are informed by a conservationist discourse in terms of a strong 'sense of place' which is discussed further in the following section. To some extent, the conservation ethos has pushed the creation of the biosphere and it has created a momentum (albeit very slow) towards some stakeholder engagement and a desire for better planning in the area. Without this desire to conserve the environment, the discourse of SD in the area would be very limited. Management plans and spatial development frameworks have been drawn up and are now with the various levels of government. As Tosun (2000) states, it is the local level where the effects of development are felt. Therefore if the district municipality, which has jurisdiction over land-use planning, can use these frameworks more effectively then some of the concerns regarding inappropriate developments may be reduced. This then may start the process

of a more sustainable development approach, albeit one that takes a very weak position and one couched under the neoliberal discourse. The current approach sees the weak sustainability approach being primarily concerned with the environmental principles of SD.

This notion of weak or strong sustainability relates to the positions that can be taken regarding sustainability concerns. As Daly and Cobb (1989) state in chapter two, varying levels of equity and public participation differentiate between strong and weak sustainability, while Palmer, Cooper and van der Vorst (1997) state that for strong sustainability to occur, the four elements of SD - futurity, environment, public participation and equity all need to be viewed from a strong sustainability position. Discourses relating to equity show that resources in the region are not equitably distributed and there is little evidence that this will change in the foreseeable future, unless there are radical political changes at national level. Futurity and the environment are given more prominence in the active stakeholder discourses, which suggests a slightly stronger approach to sustainability on these counts, but overall, the position is generally very weak. The discourses support how Neumayer (2003) sees strong/weak sustainability positions, that they depend on belief systems and scientific falsification is almost impossible. This leaves more social constructionist approaches such as this study to try and understand where belief systems lie.

An analysis of the discourses in this case-study shows that it is technical solutions that are favoured whereby a weak sustainability position is taken in the policy arena based on neoliberal approaches to development (Söderbaum, 2009). It could be argued that if the region is to move down a more sustainable pathway, then more radical or stronger reformist approaches are needed, whereby quality of life is equally distributed among all people and that the biosphere as a resource is not over-exploited (Daly and Cobb, 1989). The realities of achieving this are however limited. It implies a significant increase in the standard of living of the poor and as Neves and du Toit (2013) argue, in rural South Africa, this is extremely difficult as the legacies of apartheid are so ingrained into economy and society. It could also

be argued that an (eco) systems perspective is also required within the WBR. This is a stronger sustainability position whereby resource preservation is at the core of development and management approaches (Turner, Pearce and Bateman, 1994). This approach is not evidenced in the discourse as the environment is positioned primarily as an economic resource. Neoliberal ideologies and discourses would need to be replaced by more ecocentric ones requiring an ideological shift and given the context in which this case-study operates, this is unlikely.

As with much of South Africa, in the WBR there is an inequitable share of and ability to access resources. As stated in the section on development above, the rural poor (the mainly black population) are positioned as being in need of development and empowerment. The land-owning whites on the other hand have considerable amounts of resources at their disposal, either in terms of their knowledge or their economic resources. As the land claimants testify, owning land is not enough to be active in all three elements of STD as both knowledge and the economic means to use land are required to generate returns. So while land reform does give land back to original inhabitants, the system is not supportive (Hall, 2004, Walker, 2008; Brooks et al, 2011) especially in rural areas where there is a lack of financial and logistical support for claimants (Walker, 2008). Resource scarcity can affect everyone, although how this is dealt with exemplifies inequalities, water being a case in point as shown in section 7.3.4. As with all aspects relating to resource access, power is a central matter. Indeed, this case-study shows that while power remains in the hands of the dominant and influential few in the WBR, issues of inequity will remain for the foreseeable future unless there are major political changes which affect land tenure.

While equity and resource access are patently a long way off from being near what is required for a more sustainable region, the notion of futurity was seen by the active stakeholders as an essential element in SD. Achieving this however, was seen as problematical and the land conservation discourse came to the fore again. It was essentially a localist discourse of conserving land in the region so that it can be productive for nature-based tourism.

Opening up contiguous areas of land is seen as part of this. Again, in the short term there are a number of obstacles to this, not least it being dependent on cooperation between landowners, something which is difficult to obtain. The active stakeholders however do not generally see futurity as involving the long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem, their discourses couched in these localist terms of land conservation.

One of the central aspects of SD is the notion of participatory approaches to development and forms a central theme in the Brundtland Report, Agenda 21 and subsequent SD principles and objectives. While participatory approaches may be an essential element in SD, the practical application of this objective is complex and challenging. The focus of this research was to examine development concerns from the perspective of those active stakeholders in tourism who can affect decisions regarding SD/STD. All those interviewed are not only involved in development through their positions they are also community members. Mechanisms for community participation in planning are limited. While government has a generally neoliberal approach to development, it is also a top down system. The private sector are generally left alone to pursue their own objectives and community groups also have their own agendas, but the discourses point to them being ineffective in overall development concerns.

Those involved in planning at district government level see obtaining agreement between stakeholders as being difficult (see 7.3.3) affirming the views of Swarbrooke (1999) that due to the number of stakeholders present in tourism destinations, trade-offs need to exist between the three pillars of sustainability. The WBR is no exception as is also shown in the stakeholder analysis in chapter six. If differing ideologies, contexts, discourses and power structures are also examined from stakeholder perspectives, then achieving objectives that all stakeholders can agree on is problematical. Regarding the biosphere reserve, participation has been limited to a few with the knowledge, time, inclination and power. Until now, what the discourses of active stakeholders convey is a concept that is seen to be worthwhile, but there is a lack of understanding about what a biosphere reserve is, how it functions and

what its objectives are. Lack of communication of information and buy-in are prominent discourses of the active stakeholders. If knowledge levels and stakeholder buy-in are low, then partnership building is problematical. This means that for the WBR to move towards a position whereby it can more demonstratively fulfill its objectives, these aspects need attention. Institutional capacity is another prominent discourse and relates to those regarding communication and buy-in. Institutional capacity is necessary not only for organisations to achieve their objectives, but it is also required in participatory planning approaches (Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). For the WBR reserve, this is an issue that also needs addressing and for a number of the respondents it needs a champion, or someone who can really push the biosphere agenda. Biospheres are also a way of reinforcing particular ideological standpoints of those who control the dominant discourse relating to SD. These are macro level concerns with regard to SD and through the UN, over six hundred biospheres have been initiated throughout the world to operationalise a specific version of the concept (UNESCO, 2013). As was shown in chapter two, the UN takes a generally very weak approach to SD, one that is mildly reformist in approach and one couched in neoliberal discourse. The approach adopted by the WBR espouses this approach and it is been driven by a committee that see a neoliberal approach to development, albeit one with an acceptable face of SD.

Furthermore, for those have the original idea to initiate a biosphere reserve (the WNC members), this requires both declarative and performative knowledge, and as per Foucault, it is discourse that produces knowledge and this in turn creates power. Knowledge is also linked to discursive practice. Discursive practices from a series of individuals led to non-discursive practices, in this case a series of actions which formed the WBR. There is a significant amount of knowledge which is required to set up a biosphere, therefore as per Jäger and Maier (2009), the knowledge built into non-discursive practices (the establishment of the biosphere) is complex. In this case it involves political, economic, social, environmental, technical and legal knowledge. The materialisations (the objects) emerge from these non-discursive practices. For example the biosphere has sought funding for the

Meander and Telekishi projects. The Meander has documentation, signposts and markers for sites of interest, while Telekishi has physical buildings. There are plans in the biosphere expansion to have offices, thus the materialisations expand with time and all created from the discursive practices and knowledge which surround the biosphere from those involved. For Gramsci (translated by Buttigieg, 2007) discourses become hegemonic when they are institutionalised and they become the 'historical-organic ideology' of those powerful actors. These actors gain authority and consent in society for their particular interests, in this case a UN sanctioned biosphere reserve. Once institutionalised, the WBR needs an apparatus to manage and operationalise the concept. It has therefore become a material reality through discourse which has roots in a specific agenda and particular ideological standpoints relating to development, SD, conservation and tourism.

It could be argued that this case-study adopts a two pillar version of SD, whereby the socio-economic and the ecological are seen as being represented in the discourses of active stakeholders. The three pillar approach distinguishes between economic and social needs, to emphasise that economic gains are not sufficient measures or preservers of human well-being. This two pillar approach could be seen as a representation of competing objectives and this is the case to some extent. For tourism, the resource base is the environment, therefore there are opportunities to accommodate interrelated human and ecological interests. Tourism and STD are discussed further in the following section.

9.3.2 Sustainable Tourism Development in the WBR

Tourism as a development option is attractive as the natural resources already exist in many destinations and theoretically, as was shown in the introduction and in chapter three, it has the ability to generate numerous economic benefits and contribute to societal well-being. It can also through environmental conservation or protection of the resource base, be an opportunity for SD. However, there are also a number of concerns regarding tourism as a development option which focus on the negative impacts of tourism and its inability to address the wider aspects related to SD (Telfer and

Sharpley, 2008). This case-study throws up these debates and the following section synthesises the context related chapters with the empirical findings to examine whether tourism is a sustainable development option in the WBR.

One of the practical and conceptual concerns relating to SD is how to reconcile 'development' with 'sustainability' (Kuhlman and Farrington, 2010). Any development option, whether it is tourism, manufacturing, extractive industries or agriculture have various effects on economy, society and environment. If development choices are limited then as some active stakeholders observe, it is the only economic sector that is feasible in the area to generate employment and have an environmental, conservation aspect. From analysing the documentation regarding the region from a number of sources and through examining the discourses of the active stakeholders, tourism is seen as an economic driver in the WBR. The South African government see tourism as one of its main growth industries (South Africa Tourism, 2011) and it is seen as one of the few development options in the WBR due its topography (Boonzaaier and Baber, 2011).

The type of tourism in the region is largely based around tourists participating in numerous outdoor activities in the natural environment. While no figures are available for the Waterberg District, the latest available figures show that in Limpopo Province in 2010, international spend was twice that of domestic (South African Tourism, 2010). As Wall and Mathieson (2006) note, the type and level of tourism is important in determining the effects that tourism has on destinations and who controls the industry also affects the scale and direction of the impacts (Ap and Crompton, 1998). The fact that no quantitative data is available for the WBR in terms of visitor numbers or spend is both a strength and a weakness of attempting to uncover the extent to which tourism is a viable development option for SD. A lack of data means that it is difficult to ascertain trends regarding who visits the region, how much they spend, bed nights, activities while in the destination and all the other data that is collected for destination development and management. It is also a strength as it means that other research approaches are required. The qualitative data generated from those with knowledge of the area and the tourism industry is

important as it contributes to the second objective in this study. This objective is to examine the discourses of active stakeholders concerning development, tourism development and sustainable development in the WBR. Qualitative data in this respect is fit for purpose regarding the aim and objectives of this study. As per the section on SD above, the principles of STD are mapped against the case-study findings (see table 9.2 below).

The active stakeholders do see tourism as an appropriate option for economic development, citing the primary reason that there are few alternatives as agriculture has declined and there are no significant mineral deposits to mine. There are however concerns regarding tourism's ability as a panacea to address the economic problems in the area. The discourses of the private sector stakeholders infer that making a living in tourism is difficult due to the high value of the Rand, the recession and competition, not just in the WBR, but nationally and internationally. As Poon (1993) notes, tourism is a very competitive industry and businesses need to constantly adapt to survive. In the case of the private sector in the WBR this means a movement upmarket. This has potential concomitant effects on resource use. Upmarket facilities tend to use more resources, particularly water (Birkin, 2003) and they tend to be owned by large corporations or individuals from outside the region. They tend also to have high leakages as they spend large amounts on products from outside the area such as expensive furniture, computer systems and luxury food and drink (Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003).

Principles of STD	Case-study Fit
The conservation and sustainable use of natural, social and cultural resources.	Conservation discourse, although evidence for practice limited. African culture side-lined in tourism development.
Tourism planning should be concerned with: carrying capacities and environmental limits; long-term and appropriate use of resources; being integrated into national and local SD strategies and stakeholder involvement (particularly local communities).	Lack of tourism planning. Ad-hoc approach. Private sector led. Carrying capacity discourse, but no implementation. WBR link to wider SD debate, but ineffective. Limited stakeholder involvement – power of the few.
Tourism should support a wide range of economic activities and take into account environmental costs and benefits.	White controlled industry. Limited opportunity for entry unless have access to resources. Lack of SMEs and SME development. Potentially low level linkages.
All stakeholders should respect the culture, economy and way of life, environment and political structures of the destination area.	Post-colonial discourses. Community conflicts. Lack of faith in government. Lack of planning control.
STD should be research led.	Limited research on area.
Stakeholders should be educated and trained about STD.	Poor communication and knowledge of WBR. No obvious government involvement Limited private sector altruism
All stakeholders should cooperate to avoid potential conflict and to optimise the benefits to all involved in tourism development and management.	Lack of cooperation. Power and control rests with few. Lack of trickle down effect to address problems in area.

Table 9.2: Principles and objectives of sustainable tourism development: case study fit

There is also a worry that the 'sense of place' of the destination starts to change and this is a discourse present from some respondents. Golf courses, luxury resorts with five star facilities may be what some tourists want, but getting repeat high-spend visitors can be problematical. While the tourists may be high spend in terms of the amount paid for accommodation, they tend to stay within the confines of the lodge partaking in nature-based or outdoor activities. This means there is little spend in the wider community and limited opportunities for SME development, leading to low linkages and high leakages. This notes Dearden (2010) leads to limited economic development particularly in peripheral areas.

As sustainable tourism should support a wide range of economic activities and take into account environmental costs and benefits (see table 9.2 above) there are limited opportunities for this to occur in the WBR. One public sector official talks of a 'wall that separates the market for the rich and the market for the lower class' (see section 8.2.1) and a lack of opportunity for SME development in tourism. The development of tourism SMEs could be based around the cultural offering, arts, crafts, township tours, guesthouses, local food or a number of other opportunities. There are some local craft producers and CS3's NGO is one such business, but it is not owned and developed by the black community.

The private sector control of the industry which perpetuates and openly advocates a certain type of tourism in the WBR means that economically there are a number of concerns as to the sustainability of the tourism product. Private sector institutional logics as mentioned in chapters three and six prevail. The industry is also controlled by the rich, white landowners or large corporations who may have some altruistic actions, but as per McCool, Moisey and Nickerson (2001) the discourses point to the sustaining of tourism, rather than how to relate the concept to the wider debate on development. The private sector also control who is employed at what levels and when. As shown in chapter four, tourism employs around 2000 people in the WBR which has a population of over 100,000 and is growing (Boonzaaier

and Baber, 2011). The capacity to absorb large amounts of unskilled labour is limited. Indeed skills shortages are a prominent discourse from the active stakeholders from all sectors and while there are plans in the pipeline for a WBR skills programme, whether participants will be able to find employment remains to be seen.

The control of the tourism industry while primarily in the hands of the private sector in the WBR is influenced by the public sector and in theory it is they who should lead the tourism development process (Inskeep, 1991, Gunn, 1994). As shown in section 9.2 government is, according to the active stakeholders, ineffectual when it comes to planning. The tourism officials feel a sense of frustration that tourism is given priority at national level, but this does not filter down to provincial or district levels. This is where tourism development occurs on the ground, where the type and level of tourism is determined and hence where the impacts occur, both positive and negative. Discourses surrounding political will, government capacity, corruption and a lack of resources all point to tourism in the WBR not being under the control of the public sector, but the private. The interviewees point out the lack of effective coordination between the fragmented parts of the industry along with an ineffectual tourist board mean that a clear vision and image for the WBR is not evident and marketing initiatives inadequate. Tourism destinations present complex challenges for management and development as they serve a range of stakeholders who are diverse (Howie, 2003) and without adequate coordination of varied interests, development problems occur. In the case of the WBR it is a lack of a clear vision of tourism development and a lack of control over development from the public sector that has implications for SD.

Tourism should in theory lead to: the conservation and sustainable use of natural, social and cultural resources and all stakeholders should respect the culture, economy and way of life, environment and political structures of the destination area. Regarding the type of tourism and use of social and cultural resources, it is principally not only a private sector controlled industry, but a white one. Discourses point to a racial divide prevalent throughout the whole industry, except for some public sector officials who have some power over

development control. For non-whites access to business ownership or senior positions in tourism is limited, even for the land claimants, who have ownership of land or are in the process of claiming it. Tourism, it seems is one of the economic sectors that has yet to embrace the 'new South Africa', for as Briedenhann and Wickens (2004a) assert it is predominantly still a white man's industry. There is a limited African cultural tourism offer in the WBR, but those who are involved in this lack the knowledge, financial resources and business skills to build on the initial offering.

Postcolonial theory related to tourism is also pertinent in this case-study. Structurally and ideologically, the tourism industry is dominated by affluent whites, some who have owned land in the area for generations, while others are new investors. For Tucker and Akama (2009) tourism perpetuates the idea of colonial power relations on both these structural and ideological levels. The constructions and representations by the elite of 'the Other' and are cultural representations based on European social constructions argues Hollingshead (1998). These discourses are apparent in the constructions of a number of white respondents. The black representations of self and other also reinforce narratives from the apartheid days. Binary opposites emerge in the discourse of developed/undeveloped, poor/rich, educated/uneducated. The positioning of 'the Other' for some has postcolonial undertones whereby people are homogenised carrying connotations of backwardness and binary contrasts between 'us' and 'them', 'self' and 'other' (Darby, 1997, p2-3). These are all evident in the case-study (see section 7.2.2 and 7.2.4) and involve discourses related to power. For Said (1978) how the 'Third World' is positioned and developed by those with Western outlooks is rooted in power linked to knowledge. There is a distinct positioning of the poor in this case-study, being in need of development, backward and for some, culturally inferior with Western ideological notions of individualism being diametrically opposed to African collectivist ideologies.

On the environmental side of STD, there is a strong conservation discourse as mentioned in 9.2. Regarding tourism, this is essential if the WBR is to become a serious conservation area. The majority of the original designation

of the WBR is land owned by WNC members who do have a passion for the area and do not want to see it degraded. This group of landowners, while having numerous motives, not all altruistic, have pushed conservation issues with the WBRMC and the municipalities. Without them, the WBR would not exist, nor would spatial zonation of the area have occurred, nor would a whole myriad of discourses and material realities have happened. As significant landowners they are however quite powerful in terms of how they use their land and how the WNC has pushed certain agendas. As Morgan and Pritchard (1999) assert, power is embedded in social relations, sets social norms and can exercise influence over other social groups

As shown in chapter six, another main group with influence over tourism is the WBRMC and particularly the chair, AC6. While operationally, there have been concerns relating to the achievement of the WBR's objectives, especially in the first few years of its operation, there have been activities which have reinforced their powerful position. The commissioning of and contribution to the EMF and the WBRMP requires both procedural and declarative knowledge. This has resulted in AC6 in particular having a considerable influence on which properties fall in which zone, ultimately determining what can be developed where and how. The literature on tourism development does highlight power relating to significant groups (Beritelli and Laesser, 2011), however the central role of one individual, their profile, ideological beliefs and ultimately how they gain power has less prominence in the tourism literature (see Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). As noted in the literature, destination planning and management are shaped within complex social and political environments and influenced by power relations (Few, 2000), the WBR being no exception. As one of the salient stakeholders identified in chapter six, AC6 has the knowledge, education, connections, family position and business interests to pursue plans for the region and for a specific kind of tourism that is ideologically based on a neoliberal outlook on development generally and tourism development specifically.

This leads to another of the principles of STD: that all stakeholders should cooperate to avoid potential conflict and to optimise the benefits to all involved

in tourism development and management. It is an aspirational principle, and it could be argued it is just part of a wish-list, but the realities of achieving this in any tourism destination when diverse groups of stakeholders are involved is extremely difficult, as espoused by PS4 (see section 7.3.3). Power and influence are often a source of conflict in tourism development (Mowforth and Munt, 2003) and the WBR is no different. AC6 comes in for criticism from some active stakeholders for having too much power and while many of the interviewees extol the virtues of community life in the WBR, conflicts are never far from the surface. These conflicts can be ideological, racial or personal, but when related to STD and when there are distinct unequal power structures 'optimising benefits to all' is unrealistic. This relates to how Hollinshead (1999) conceptualises the discursive aspects of power in tourism, recognising that ideologies are an important aspect of understanding power in tourism development. The above analysis relates to how tourism development is formed within complex social and political environments. It is also influenced by power relations whereby stakeholders try to control or influence tourism development through adopting strategies to either back or obstruct others. As Few (2001) states, there are various ways this can happen – it can be through knowledge or access to state apparatus, or through mechanisms such as compromise, trade-offs, manipulation, persuasion, reward, exclusion and alliance formation. These strategies are evident from the salient stakeholders, particularly AC6 whose knowledge, access to state apparatus and alliance formation have made this stakeholder powerful and with power comes criticism from some.

This case-study highlights a number of themes relating to power and tourism development:

- Economic power combined with power through knowledge results in individuals or organisations being able to manipulate and/or circumvent planning law, thus affecting tourism development outcomes.
- Private sector power in tourism controls the type, level and hence the impacts of tourism.

- Land ownership does not necessarily lead to power. Knowledge of what to do with the land is also required as are access to resources.
- Procedural power determines tourism development outcomes through discourse.
- Being active in STD does not necessarily lead to saliency.
- Contextual analysis uncovers power at various levels

Using techniques such as stakeholder analysis and CDA has uncovered a number of concerns relating to power and SD/STD in the WBR, showing that knowledge, ideology and power are not mutually exclusive. These are main themes running through this work along with development paradigms to uncover whether tourism can be an option for sustainable development in the WBR. The following section brings these themes together.

9.4 Tourism as a Sustainable Development Option.

Is tourism a sustainable development option in the WBR? As with any qualitative analysis and as Wheeler (2004) states, it all depends on perspective. Perspectives on development, tourism, SD, STD all vary depending on a variety of contexts and situations. The macro context under which development occurs, along with micro, place-based contexts means there is no simple answer to the question. This section synthesises the above two sections (9.2 and 9.3) on development, SD, tourism development and STD to draw some conclusions to the question from the perspectives of the active stakeholders in STD in the WBR, drawing on the appropriate literature where necessary.

The UN version of the SD agenda has been promoted through the creation of the biosphere in the region which has become a material reality. The principles of SD listed in table 9.1 should be central to how development occurs in the region, whatever industry is developed. Regarding tourism development, these general principles of SD should be at the core of how the industry is planned, managed and developed along with the specific principles of STD in table 9.2. The principles of STD broadly map onto those of SD (see

table 3.1) although they tend to ignore wider development concerns of population levels, quality of life improvements, basic needs, political systems change, adoption of new social paradigms and global alliances. Herein lies the problem. While the approach to tourism development through the biosphere follows the WTO's (1995) blueprint for sustainable tourism through planning (the control of development) and designation (zonation measures), SD concerns arise. First, as Ryan (2002) notes, development controls determine the nature and type of development and the winners and losers. Second, decisions regarding planning are made in the context of a neoliberal approach to development in South Africa. Third, designations such as biospheres also take a Western, neoliberal perspective of the environment affirming what Pigram (1990) sees as good business sense, but are inconsistent with broader SD goals.

Squaring the SD circle of economy, society and environment is not easy as was shown in the literature chapters. The discourses in this case-study regarding tourism development point more to the economic and environmental aspects of SD. It is the economic aspects relating to tourism that are given prominence with ecological objectives following. Social objectives are couched more in economic terms, although upliftment, empowerment and social mobility are present in the discourses, they are discourse sub-strands rather than main discourse strands. Social cohesion as an objective is mentioned, but conflicts, racial positioning, ideological beliefs and the historical context of apartheid all mitigate against this in either the short or medium terms. The SD objectives surrounding social issues such as basic needs, life-expectancy, self-reliance, population levels and new social paradigms are not addressed through tourism development.

Tourism is seen as an economic driver in the region and this fits with the literature on tourism as a development option, however the previous section shows that there is a need to examine the type, level and control of tourism to examine sustainability implications. The link between the economic and environmental aspects of tourism development centres on the discourse of appropriate/inappropriate tourism. Nature-based or outdoor recreational

tourism being seen as appropriate, while second home developments and large-scale resorts are seen as inappropriate for both economic and environmental reasons. It is the control of tourism development that is therefore seen as critical and this has been problematic. There is also little opportunity for SME development as the tourists spend most of their time on the game farms, lodges or timeshare properties. If the economic benefits are to be spread then as Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000) note, larger businesses and SMEs need to find a way to work together. Unless there are mechanisms in place to do this, opportunities will be limited. While tourism is an important economic sector in the WBR, its ability to address the high levels of unemployment in the area is limited, thus its ability as a SD option is limited.

The control of the industry is also predominantly in the hands of the white population. Black involvement is generally limited to being employees in tourism organisations. The businesses are owned by whites and the tourists are generally white. Little has changed since apartheid. Power is therefore concentrated with the economically advantaged minority. The discourses reflect this and these are influenced by ideologies and the social, historical and political contexts of individuals. However as the whites control the businesses, there are ideological underpinnings and institutional logics which influence their discourses. The private sector control of the industry fits with the prevailing neoliberal ideologies of the South African government, but there are implications of this. Under neoliberalism, the role of government is to create the conditions under which the private sector can develop the economy. There is generally a hands-off approach to the private sector and this is evident in the case-study. There is a discourse from the respondents that government needs to do more, particularly regarding service provision. There is also a lack of development control by the public sector, and as Gunn (1994) asserts, managing the resource base through public sector initiatives is crucial. The structures of South African government do not help. Responsibility for tourism development is mainly designated to the provincial level, but delivery on the ground of services and for planning is at local levels, confirming the findings of Hall and Lew (2009). They assert that public involvement in tourism falls across different levels and departments of

government and that a lack of coordination causes implementation problems. The discourse that emerges is that governments at all levels do not have the political will to pay the industry enough attention, that there is little planning control, governments are corrupt, under-resourced and inefficient. When all these factors are taken together they indicate that moving down a more sustainable development path is problematical.

For the private sector, the emphasis is first and foremost on sustaining the businesses which they own or work for. The discourses regarding the accommodation sector include a general movement toward up-market tourism. This involves the consumption of more resources and it could be argued that it is environmentally unsustainable, especially as this type of tourism consumes more resources, particularly water, which is scarce in the Waterberg region. As Bohdanowicz and Martinac (2007) note the more luxurious the accommodation, the more resources are consumed with water consumption increasing significantly as the amount of facilities increase.

Tourism as an industry, and the biosphere as a mechanism for SD implementation, does have the ability to bring stakeholders together to become more involved in how the destination is planned and managed. However, this is not currently happening to any great extent. Discourses relating to methods for participation are limited, the focus being on either civil society groups such as the WNC, NGOs such as the WWS or the WBRMC. Social concerns associated with empowerment are also related more to these individuals/organisations. It could be argued that the WBRMC is a form of a community-based organisation that has some influence and power in the region regarding the development of the region as a tourist destination. While some elements of the community were involved in setting up the WBR, and there is some stakeholder involvement in the WBR, the discourses of this case-study point to the following findings of Manusri and Rao, (2004, 2013) in chapter four: first, the WBR had more of a land-use/conservation ethos rather than the development of the poor when it was established. Second, it is unclear whether effective community infrastructure and enhanced welfare outcomes are the result of the participatory aspects of the WBR. Third, local

elites and the better educated and networked groups in the WBR often better organise themselves and therefore benefit most from the biosphere. Different institutions and social actors have different capacities to voice and stake their claims regarding issues which affect them. As Boonzaaier (2012) states, state officials and community representatives operate in asymmetric organisational structures. If community actors are to acquire some influence in their negotiations with state officials, they have to organise themselves into larger collectives. This is a function of the WNC and also the WBRMC which reflects influence and power positions identified in chapter six.

As noted in chapter eight, the tourism planning literature advocates that governments need to take the lead in tourism development and that community-based, bottom-up approaches and tourism need to be integrated into broader SD plans. Unless there is a change in government approaches to tourism development in the region, or the biosphere finds mechanisms to be more inclusive and communicative, then tourism's contribution to the SD of the area is limited.

While Buckley (2012) asserts that the tourism industry not a sustainable one it does depend on what is meant by being sustainable. The discourses of the private sector respondents all espoused a strong 'sense of place', and environmental conservation, many have resource use policies in place and some are quite altruistic in their approach to their businesses, therefore Buckley's conclusions need to be contextualised. This is a new relatively new tourism destination in a new country which is trying to address the legacies of apartheid and an area that is just starting to talk about SD. One of the central discourses regarding the biosphere from the active stakeholders is that it is a good idea, they may not fully understand it, but there is a discourse pertaining to the natural environment being worthy of protection or conservation. The discourses generally suggest that the biosphere has these connotations. Moreover, the discourses express that the environment is critical not just for its intrinsic properties, but also for socio-economic reasons. Intergenerational equity is critical in this respect. While their discourses point to numerous problems associated with government, planning and control of the industry,

the recognition that the Waterberg has a strong 'sense of place' is fundamental to all the other discourses.

This 'sense of place' involves description of what Cohen (1992) calls 'belonging' and being part of a particular community. The active stakeholders also confirm the findings of Jorgensen and Stedman (2006) who argue that it is the spatial aspects that are given more importance when discussing place. The discourse of all those interviewed mentioned the environmental features of the region and as was mentioned in chapter three, place attachment has implications for sustainability as there is a potential connect between the local and the global (Devine-Wright, 2013). Indeed, this is where there is conceivable potential in the WBR for SD. In essence the active stakeholders are generally passionate about the area and a desire for tourism to be an industry that contributes to socio-economic development. It could be argued that a strong 'sense of place' based around the natural environment and a sense of community has little to do with the broader principles of SD, however it represents what is unique about a place and what is worth preserving. However, Walsh, Jamrozny and Burr (2001) argue that if residents can contribute to the development of a destination's image through what the place means to them, focusing on the unique natural and cultural resources of the area, there is a greater chance these unique features will be sustained. The notion of futurity is apparent here and is a central aspect to SD and particularly to STD as destinations such as the WBR depend on the natural environment as the core product.

9.5 Chapter Summary

Whether tourism can be an appropriate option for SD is debatable and depends on which perspective is taken. SD and STD are value laden concepts and this case-study has shown that the discourses that relate to concepts such as development, tourism, SD, STD are underpinned by ideologies and involve notions relating to knowledge and power. The dominant economic-based neoliberal paradigm that is emphasised in the literature regarding development is also evident in the active stakeholder discourses. Sustaining tourism, neoliberal views of the environment, tourism's

inability to generate significant employment, a private sector led tourism industry, weak government and power unequally distributed are all critical SD concerns. The biosphere, with its associated problems has however been a mechanism to push discourses of a version of SD. It is however one that has quite a weak and mildly reformist approach. As has been shown, discourses lead to material realities. These stakeholders have an emotional attachment to the area, particularly the natural environment and its various communities. While the evidence points to tourism not being able to fulfill many of the principles and objectives relating to SD/STD, it is still early days in the WBR and tourism is still in its infancy in the region. The discourses from the active stakeholders point to the numerous, difficult problems within the area, however as SD/STD are journeys, the formation of the WBR has meant that the journey has been started, initiated with discourses around these concepts.

Chapter 10 – Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is to examine the extent to which tourism is a sustainable development option in the WBR, South Africa. The approach used to seek to answer this has been through an examination of a number of core themes. These themes include both the macro and micro contexts under which tourism development takes place. These themes are analysed within the literature and also from an empirical perspective. At the macro level, development, SD, tourism development and stakeholder analysis are discussed, while the micro level has examined the geographical elements of the case-study. Both the macro and micro aspects related to the work are also examined in the context of power, ideology and knowledge. These aspects are also related to stakeholders and the context of development.

The concern being investigated stems from the debate surrounding SD and how it is conceptualised and also put into practice. While SD is theoretically appealing it is a contested concept as it can be interpreted in numerous ways. The same can also be said of STD. This is the rationale for this case-study on the WBR in South Africa. Biosphere reserves are a way of attempting to put the UN's principles of SD into practice. Since the creation of the WBR in 2001 this region, in theory should be developed under these principles as should tourism. As the main economic and land-use sector in the WBR, tourism has the opportunity to not only generate socio- economic benefits, but also help in conservation. In order to investigate tourism's contribution to SD, thirty five 'active stakeholders were interviewed and their discourses analysed using CDA. The analysis centres on the core themes mentioned above and this final chapter now draws the thesis together.

This chapter is split into a further five sections. The first examines a synthesis of the empirical findings in relation to the research aim and objectives. The second section provides the contribution and implications of the findings in relation to furthering understanding and application of knowledge regarding tourism as a sustainable development option. This is followed by an

identification of the policy relevance of the key findings in relation to tourism development. The fourth section outlines recommendations for further research while the fifth identifies the limitations of the thesis. Finally, the thesis is rounded off with some final concluding remarks regarding the aim of this work.

10.2 Empirical Findings

Each chapter within this thesis has contributed towards the aim and objectives. The context for the thesis is provided in chapters two, three and four and following the methodology, the main empirical findings were summarised within chapters six, seven and eight and then synthesised in chapter nine. This section examines the main research themes that have run through the thesis in relation to the aim and objectives. To reiterate, these themes are:

Thesis Themes

- 1) Context - Macro context:
 - a) Development and development paradigms.
 - b) Tourism as a development option.
 - c) SD/STD – concepts, principles and critique
- 2) Context – Micro, place-based
 - a) National level – South Africa
 - b) Regional/local level - Limpopo Province, Waterberg
 - c) Waterberg Biosphere Reserve
- 3) Stakeholder Analysis
 - a) Active stakeholders
 - b) Power, ideology and knowledge

10.2.1 Macro Context

Throughout this thesis, the macro context of development paradigms, tourism as an option for development, SD and STD have been used to examine the case-study of the WBR. Any form of development is not context free and

tourism is no exception, therefore understanding this context is important in order to address the first objective which is: **to examine the issues surrounding tourism as a sustainable development option.**

Post World War II, modernisation and neoliberalism have been the dominant development paradigms with neoliberalism being prominent since the 1980s. The neoliberal agenda is being pushed through globalisation, technological advancements and governance as opposed to government. Tourism fits well with neoliberalism. Multi-lateral organisations and governments at all levels encourage its expansion, the private sector seeks new opportunities and tourists seek new destinations and experiences. As the tourism pleasure periphery expands, so do the associated costs and benefits of this growing industry. It is these costs and benefits which underpin the issues relating to tourism as a sustainable development option. How tourism is developed, where and by whom is influenced by neoliberal ideologies and approaches. However, critical voices regarding the recognition that development causes problems and desires to conserve or protect places have emerged. The principles of SD involve giving equal importance to economic, social and environmental aspects of development. The principles of STD also incorporate these elements. SD/STD should in theory follow the principles of futurity, equity, participation and environmental considerations.

There are a number of issues surrounding tourism as a sustainable development option. It does not comply with all the fundamental principles of SD. This is evidenced both in the literature and from the case-study. This case-study shows that it fails to address the broader elements of SD relating to basic needs, poverty reduction, quality of life improvement, population levels and new social paradigms for sustainable living. The literature on tourism shows that it is a complex fragmented industry with distant markets, but often controlled by the private sector. The private sector institutional logics identified in this thesis mean that these wider SD imperatives are not a priority for the active stakeholders in the WBR. As is shown in the literature in chapter three, as with any industry, the private sector needs to constantly develop their products to accommodate the ever-changing needs of tourists.

This is evident in the WBR as there is a desire to move up-market and focus on the higher-spend tourist. The case-study also points to a need for better land-use planning and management, benefits need to be more equitably spread and more participatory approaches sought. These however all take place under the neoliberal paradigm and a very weak position or mildly reformist approach to SD/STD. Radical solutions are just that, too radical. It can therefore be argued that unless there are major changes to policy at the micro level, then little will change.

This case-study adds to the body of knowledge on tourism and development through an examination of this macro context. The synthesis of SD/STD principles and the subsequent analysis of a case-study to these are particularly relevant here. As the literature on STD suggests, there is little analysis of tourism's contribution to the wider SD debate and this work adds a different perspective to much of the previous analyses. It synthesises SD/STD principles and then uses a case-study to examine how tourism fits with these principles examining approaches to and positions of SD. It also focuses on power, and particularly the link between power, ideology and knowledge and the associated affect on STD.

10.2.2 Micro Context

This case-study takes place in a part of the world where the micro, place-based contexts are particularly pertinent when examining the issues surrounding tourism as a sustainable development option. Each tourism destination is different and as shown in the literature in chapter three, in order to understand how tourism development works in practice an analysis of the contexts relating to destinations is required.

The legacy of apartheid in South Africa is fundamental to any study of development in the country. Matters relating to the political, economic, social and environmental aspects of development are influenced by the residual effects of the apartheid years. For Limpopo Province generally and the WBR area specifically, much of which is rural, there are a number of issues relating to apartheid which affect tourism development in the area. Land ownership is

one case in point which is relevant to this case-study. Land is predominantly owned by whites although there have been some successful land claims from black communities. Since the formation of the biosphere, land prices have increased significantly making it unaffordable for the rural poor. Outside of the main town of Vaalwater and adjoining township of Leseding, parcels of land are generally quite large and expensive. Land tenure therefore has implications for SD as there is not an equitable distribution of resources.

Another legacy of apartheid is that education and skill levels are poor in rural areas and this was highlighted as a prominent discourse from the active stakeholders. Even if these were to improve, the more highly skilled and educated may find limited opportunities in the region and move away. The discourses of those in the accommodation sector point towards on the job training and a process of skill development that starts with the basics. Postcolonial discourses are present, and although there is a desire from the private sector to up-skill their staff, their capacity to absorb and develop significant numbers is limited. It is however down to individual tourism businesses to decide who to hire, train and invest in. Where they could perhaps be more proactive is working in partnership with other organisations or businesses to help to develop SMEs in the area that could help to increase the economic linkages in the industry which are quite weak.

If tourism is to develop in a more sustainable way, then the literature points to the public sector taking the lead in tourism development through a more strategic approach to destination planning and management. This involves fulfilling their roles of coordination, planning and development, marketing, legislation, regulation and stimulation. At present, neither the structures nor the capacity to realise this are evident from a synthesis of the data collected on provincial and local government. While national level government do have a more strategic approach to tourism development, this does not filter down and it is primarily concerned with neoliberal, hands-off approaches to tourism development and increasing visitor numbers. Government involvement in tourism is therefore a major weakness in the WBR and until capacity concerns

are resolved and tourism becomes more of a priority, then it will be left primarily to the private sector to develop the industry.

The formation of the biosphere has been a mechanism to engage the public sector, albeit in a limited way. The biosphere management plan and the recent spatial development frameworks for the WBR are a potential opportunity for them to view tourism as an industry that requires more serious attention. The biosphere has at least got some community members and organisations engaged in their area and provided a platform for discourse (discussed further in the next section). However, priorities vary and while the analysis of tourism sees it as an economic development option, it has also highlighted some of the socio-economic development concerns in the region including poverty and basic needs, lack of opportunity, HIV, infrastructure problems and land tenure. Tourism is however a relatively recent addition to the economic mix in the area and the repercussions of economic restructuring away from agriculture are still being felt. South Africa is also still a comparatively new democracy and is having to deal with the legacy of apartheid and national, provincial and local development concerns generally relate to upliftment of the poor, although couched in neoliberal discourses and approaches.

The WBR is a relatively recent designation and as such research into this geographical area is limited. The studies on tourism development in the area are predominantly in the form of reports for its management plans and the biosphere ten year review and expansion. This thesis therefore makes a contribution to the body of knowledge at the micro contextual level. Synthesising all the different secondary and primary sources of data has helped to uncover findings that have not appeared in these reports, particularly different approaches and positions of SD and the link between tourism development in the area and the development paradigms.

10.2.3 Stakeholder Analysis

The final contextual aspects of this thesis relate to the stakeholders and concerns involving knowledge, ideology and power. The second objective of

this thesis is: **to examine the discourses of active stakeholders in sustainable tourism development concerning tourism as a development option in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve.** It is the discourses of active stakeholders that are of primary concern in this thesis. To be active is to affect STD and while what they say is important, who they are and their backgrounds are also central to this work.

The active stakeholder discourses are analysed using CDA which has its roots in critical theory. Context is critical in CDA, hence an emphasis on context in the work. CDA is also concerned with uncovering notions of knowledge, ideology and power which are discussed below. Who is saying what is also important in CDA hence the stakeholder analysis in chapter six which includes stakeholder profiles (included in appendix 4) and stakeholder saliency. While all the stakeholders interviewed (bar one) are active in STD, some are more salient than others, possessing all three attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency. Any development context includes notions of power or saliency as all stakeholders are not equal.

Power, ideology and knowledge are linked and this thesis reinforces how levels of knowledge from active stakeholders influenced by ideology affect power in the region. The stakeholder analysis plays a part in this as does an examination of the discourses. Foucauldian notions of power are present whereby power is linked to dominant discourses that become a material reality. This performative power has particular relevance, not only for this case study, but for development and SD/STD concerns generally. Without certain types of discourse leading to performative power, biosphere reserves would not exist. It is also discourse that affects these material realities such as biospheres, therefore understanding the link between discourse and power helps to uncover matters of SD/STD.

Some of the stakeholders can actively affect all three pillars of SD (economic, social and environmental), while others may only be active in one or two. Those who are active in all three aspects are also those who are more salient and therefore have greater influence over STD in the area. This approach to

examining tourism development in the area is critical in gathering data that is fit for purpose. Those who are passive in the development process, who are affected by decisions, rather than affecting them, are important in that they feel the affects of development decisions. However active stakeholder discourses provide an emic perspective of the tourism industry and tourism development. Their discourses and actions, or lack of them, therefore have influence over what is developed, where and how.

An analysis of these active stakeholder perspectives articulated through their discourses uncovers a number of issues regarding tourism development in the WBR. There is quite a parochial perspective for active stakeholders in private sector, as they see STD mainly in terms of sustaining the industry with environmental discourses important, but dependent on business survival. The discourses of the active stakeholders espouse the virtues of tourism as an economic development option and of tourism as a viable development option. The findings also point to a conservation ethos and a desire to see better planning control within the WBR to maintain the 'sense of place' which centres on the natural environment and communities. The analysis of the discourses also throws up a number of community related matters that include power, conflict and post-colonial perspectives.

10.2.4 Contextual Summary

The third objective is: **to examine whether tourism development can contribute to sustainable development in the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve.** Tourism development in the WBR can make a contribution to SD, however its ability to do so is limited. The discourses relating to this case-study emphasise the economic and environmental aspects of tourism development and the notion of futurity, which is tied into environmental conservation. The environment is primarily couched in terms of the land being an economic resource and an ecological modernisation discourse is prevalent. Even its ability as an economic sector is limited as it cannot absorb enough unskilled labour within the region. It is perhaps unrealistic to think of it in this way. Tourism operates in a complex global environment that incorporates numerous diverse political, economic, social and environmental

contexts and destinations effectively compete against each other for tourists and tourism development. The WBR is no different and while tourism can contribute somewhat to SD imperatives, it can be a fickle industry whereby destinations need constant development and management from all sectors. The two-pillar approach to SD is evidenced in this case-study, whereby the socio-economic and the environmental aspects are seen as inextricably linked. While there are numerous issues surrounding the practical application of linking these two elements of SD in a strong way, the case-study shows that through a discourse relating to biosphere creation, SD has emerged as development paradigm which is gaining increasing recognition in the area.

Research into tourism in the WBR is in its infancy, therefore this thesis has potentially been the first that has examined tourism development from active stakeholder perspectives. The macro and micro level contextual analysis of this case-study point to the originality of the work as does the approach used. The thematic approach through synthesising the case study context with the macro perspective allows a picture to emerge of tourism as a sustainable development option in the WBR. This approach has meant a number of theoretical and methodological implications have emerged and these are examined below.

10.3 Theoretical and Methodological Implications

In chapter one, the rationale for this thesis was introduced. It centres on how SD/STD can be better understood through examining a case-study in a region where the principles of SD are meant to be followed. The body of knowledge on these concepts is an emerging one and this work has implications for the theoretical understanding of how tourism can contribute to SD. The theoretical approaches used in this work particularly those pertaining to tourism as a sustainable development option need to be revisited if the industry is to address the wider concerns of SD. There is a divergence between the principles and objectives of SD and those of STD as stated in 10.2.1. While there is literature that links tourism, development, SD and STD, it is an emerging one. Works by authors such as Telfer and Sharpley (2008) are a useful contribution in this area. While their work and the work of others do

mention stakeholder power, the link between this and the ideologies and knowledge that lie behind power is not so prominent. This thesis has built on the link between tourism and development through a more in-depth examination of these important elements and the context under which tourism development occurs. The theoretical contribution of this thesis is in three areas and these are examined below.

First, this thesis has examined the discourses of 'active stakeholders' in the tourism development process. This work has shown that those stakeholders who are active in STD have considerable influence over development outcomes. While there is literature on power and influence in tourism development, there is little attention paid to the role of active stakeholders in the tourism development process. This is where this thesis makes a specific contribution to the theoretical literature on tourism development. Any form of development has numerous stakeholders who affect or are affected by decisions which determine SD outcomes. It is those active stakeholders who affect these outcomes that need to be understood, for it is they who influence the extent to which development moves along a sustainable pathway. Active stakeholders socially construct SD/STD and therefore understanding how these constructions play out in development practice produces a clearer picture of the positions of and approaches to SD/STD which are taken. This work supports that of Hollinshead (1998) who sees the significance of analysing the norms and ideologies which underpin the policy platforms of the dominant groups in tourism development. This study differs in that it is the wider aspects of tourism development from a range of active stakeholder perspectives that are analysed. This work has therefore attempted to achieve what Simpson (2008) calls for a more comprehensive analysis of the various powers and influences of stakeholders. What sets this work apart and hence its originality is its examination of the wider development concerns relating to power, the discourses which influence it, where it comes from, the different types and its effects. This leads to the second theoretical contribution of this work.

The link between discourse, power, ideology and knowledge when related to active stakeholders produces an understanding of not only what type of tourism development occurs within a region, but why it takes place. Discourses are not value free and that is where this work makes a contribution to the literature. Exploring not only what people say is important, but where discourses emanate from and the ideological background behind them needs examining. For example, the discourses of SD stem from a specific version of the concept as espoused by the UN and the increasing neoliberalisation of the concept. It is also a concept being appropriated by the business world. This work therefore has implications for how SD/STD is conceptualised. That SD/STD are contestable concepts are prevalent in the literature (Butler, 1999; Liu, 2003; Bek, Binns and Nel, 2004). The literature also points to very weak positions of sustainability being adopted and with the dominant neoliberal economic paradigm dictating development concerns, this represents a mildly reformist or repudiation approach to SD (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005). These findings are consistent with those in this case-study, however there is a strong conservation discourse from all sectors and while the environment is couched mainly as an economic resource, there are ecocentric discourses present revolving around a 'sense of place', which is not so prevalent in the literature. While 'sense' of place' is an important discourse, the reasons behind this are also relevant. Thus what this thesis shows is that when examining discourses of active stakeholders and notions of power, ideology and knowledge, a variety of positions and approaches to development concerns can be uncovered. These assorted positions and approaches help to build up a picture of the journey of SD in a particular context and this leads to the third main theoretical contribution which involves this notion of context.

This work has synthesised, a number of core themes, namely those of the macro and micro contexts in which development takes place along with those of active stakeholders and associated power, ideology and knowledge. This thesis has shown that linking macro and micro contexts to an analysis of active stakeholders and their power, ideologies and knowledge produces an understanding of SD/STD which goes beyond normative descriptions of the

concepts. The macro contexts of development, tourism development and SD/STD when combined with the place-based context and an analysis of active stakeholders produce a wide-ranging understanding of tourism development and whether it can contribute to SD. The macro perspective of whether SD can occur under neoliberalism is pertinent here. Hayes (2006) argues that it cannot, however this assumes that all development under neoliberalism is unsustainable and there is no middle ground. This study takes the view that while tourism is a weak SD option, it is not absolute in terms of 'unsustainability'. The important point to note is that while neoliberal approaches to development may occur at both the macro and micro levels, this alone does not determine development outcomes. The ideological approaches of the active stakeholders also have an influence and the extent of this influence is determined by power. All these elements are inseparable and this is where this thesis contributes to the body of knowledge on tourism development and its potential to be a SD option.

The methodological approach used also adds to the contribution of this work. CDA is an under-utilised methodological approach in uncovering notions of power, ideology and knowledge. This thesis has taken a critical approach to examining discourses of STD in the WBR. Kuhn (2007) states that sustainable tourism should be treated more as an aspiring, evolving discourse, rather than something which is static and achievable. This implies that there should be a recognition that discourse and understanding is generated by humans and that we need to be more cognisant of the effects of discourse. While this may appear to be a Utopian scenario it does reflect the realities of where the discourses surrounding sustainability currently sit. This thesis takes Kuhn's approach and examines not only the actual discourses, but from where they emanate, the ideologies that support them and the knowledge that underpins them. The epistemological concerns relating to knowledge regarding concepts such as SD/STD need greater attention and this thesis has contributed to this understanding, both from synthesising and analysing the literature and empirical research. The approach used in this thesis can be used in a variety of development contexts and has implications

for how SD/STD are put into practice. These policy implications are explored further in the following section.

10.4 Policy Implication

There are a number of policy implications which result from this work. The first emanates from the micro context of the case-study. At the time of writing, Nelson Mandela has just been buried and the country is about to have elections in 2014. The context of these two events will have considerable bearing on what happens in the country over the following years. As one of South Africa's main economic sectors, tourism will be affected by these events. What this case-study shows is that understanding context is important in recognising how an industry such as tourism is developed. Further micro level aspects of the case-study are also relevant, namely those of rurality, the WBR, land-use and land ownership in the Waterberg. While one of the issues of qualitative research is generalisability, there are implications of this work for tourism policy in South Africa in general and biosphere reserves in particular.

If tourism in South Africa is to move down a more sustainable pathway, then tourism needs to be not only an economic driver, but a social an environmental one. This thesis has shown that there is predominantly a two pillar approach to SD in the WBR and that in order to move to being a more sustainable industry the wider aspects of SD relating to basic needs, poverty reduction and new social paradigms for sustainable living need to be incorporated into development planning. Within the biosphere, one of the main policy aspects highlighted in this work is the lack of any 'bottom-up' discourse involvement in tourism. This needs to be addressed if the wider elements of SD are to occur. This case-study has also shown that 'the Other' are positioned in certain ways. South Africa has come a long way since Mandela was released in 1990, however the tourism industry is still predominantly a white controlled industry from both demand and supply perspectives. This work has shown that greater attention to involving the black population in tourism is required and that they need to be positioned as equals in the development discourse. In the short-term, this is problematical due to issues with land reform and distinct racial positioning, however other

economic sectors have achieved this to some extent and policy-makers need to recognise this and build on what has been achieved in other areas.

This thesis has examined one biosphere reserve in South Africa from a number of perspectives, but notably from those of the active stakeholders. The approach used has uncovered a number of issues, concerns and also opportunities regarding tourism and whether it is a sustainable development option. This approach has implications for those who are attempting to put SD principles into practice in biospheres. One of the concerns highlighted in this work is the lack of involvement in tourism at the provincial and local levels of government in Limpopo. If tourism is to be seen as a sustainable development option, particularly in areas where there is little prospect of alternative economic sector development, then a greater emphasis on tourism policy is needed. This study augments that of Hall (1994) who examines power in the policy arena and that of Hollinshead (1998) regarding norms and ideologies that underpin policy platforms of the dominant groups mentioned in the previous section. For the WBR, tourism policy at regional/local levels that recognises the issues and opportunities identified in this work could help to strengthen sustainability approaches within the biosphere region. Recognising the power structures in the industry and where power comes from is an important aspect of understanding development. The discourses of the active stakeholders generate a significant amount of rich data which can be analysed using tools such as CDA to uncover notions of power, ideology and knowledge and therefore generate a greater understanding of how SD works in practice.

The approach in this case study and the theoretical implications mentioned above are of relevance to other biosphere reserves, particularly to the other five South African reserves. As stated in the introduction, biospheres are ways of attempting to move places down a pathway of SD. This is of relevance in all parts of the world, but particularly in developing countries where many of the poor have unsustainable lives and poverty reduction is inextricably linked to environmental sustainability (WCED, 1987). Tourism is used as an economic development option in many protected areas, but as knowledge grows on how

to manage tourism from both social and environmental perspectives, then how to move down a more sustainable pathway can be better understood. This work has shown that in one biosphere reserve in South Africa, there are strong environmental discourses and these have resulted in material realities such as biosphere reserves, management plans and spatial development frameworks. Understanding how discourses function in society can be used by policy makers or other interested parties who wish to create or develop biosphere reserves or other protected areas. If policy makers can understand these processes through utilising the micro and macro themes outlined in this thesis along with a variety of methodological approaches, including CDA, then a greater understanding of how tourism can contribute to SD can be gained.

10.5 Recommendations for Future Research

As with any research project, this study has generated a number of possible areas of further research. The scope of the debate raised in this thesis is considerable and multifaceted as it involves matters from the local up to the global incorporating extensive research areas such as development and sustainability. Specifically, these relate to a development of a number of the themes uncovered in the findings section.

The strong place attachment to the areas or region is an area that could be explored in greater depth. The relationship between a sense of place and sustainability concerns for people living in working and working in tourist regions could help to uncover the relationships between these areas. 'Sense of place' is an under-researched area in SD/STD if research builds on the initial findings of this work, how place attachment affects the propensity for destinations to move down a sustainable pathway could be uncovered.

The methodological approach used in this case-study could be applied in other areas and to different kinds of stakeholders. As stated in chapter two, for Spivak (1985) the subaltern cannot speak and while the focus of this case study was active stakeholders in STD, the voices of the inactive were not part of the study, except for how they were viewed by those interviewed. The poor are therefore framed in certain ways and further research could uncover how

the discourses of this group regarding development concerns and tourism in the WBR. Context is a main theme in this thesis and this kind of study could be applied to other areas and other contexts to build up a bigger picture of SD/STD discourses.

While this study was qualitative in nature, one of the areas of research that is gaining prominence in this area is a mixed methods approach in attempting to try and measure or monitor SD progress. Further research could link into quantitative studies which examine SD or STD indicators. Putting SD/STD into practice is problematical as this thesis shows and other research approaches based around the themes in this work would offer various perspectives. These studies could be longitudinal to ascertain whether perspectives change and any progress is being made regarding tourism as a development option.

One aspect of qualitative research such as this is generalisability mentioned in the methodology chapter. This is a case-study that may or may not have implications for other areas of study, but these could be tested in other areas and contexts. For example, other biosphere reserves could use similar approaches to this or areas which use tourism as a development option.

10.6 Limitations of the Study

This study has discussed tourism as a sustainable development option in a rural area of South Africa through interviewing a number of active stakeholders in STD. The data was analysed using CDA. As a direct result of the methodological approach, the study has a number of limitations. These limitations relate to possible scope, methodological restrictions, practical realities and to the different stages of the research design. Reflecting on these is an important part of the research process.

One such limitation of this project relates to the positionality of the researcher. While this has been recognised in the methodology chapter, it is a problem that arises, especially when research takes place outside of the researcher's own environment. Outsiders undertaking research in close-knit communities

in rural South Africa need to take cultural sensitivities into account. They also need to consider concerns regarding how the interviewer is seen and how they respond to the interviewers as this can have some affect on the interviewees' discourses. Therefore a complex series of power relationships exists between researcher and researched. While objectivity, positionality and reflexivity are mentioned in the methodology chapter, it is worth noting here that even though efforts were made in these regards, when studying 'the Other', researcher social constructions of the world need to be recognised.

The use of a gatekeeper in this research who was a central figure in the research, could be construed as a limitation as this individual could in theory guide the research process to suit their agenda. While a number of contacts were offered by the gatekeeper, the use of snowballing was used to minimise gatekeeper influence. Once interviewed at the start of the process, the gatekeeper was not approached again, other than for updated documentation on the WBR.

The representativeness of those interviewed could also be seen as a limitation. While the focus of this study is on active stakeholders, that limits the number of potential respondents. Efforts were made to reflect a diverse range of stakeholders from the public and private sectors and from civil society or NGOs. After the bulk of the interviews were completed in 2010, there was only one private sector stakeholder involved in hunting. This resulted in another being interviewed in 2011 as this is an important sector in tourism. A property developer was interviewed in 2012 as this individual plans to develop their property came to light during the 2011 visit.

The use of CDA as a tool to analyse the discourses also has limitations. For Widdowson (1995) CDA is based on ideological commitment, which inevitably makes researchers select texts that will support their preferred interpretations. He does not see that CDA as being capable of examining several interpretations due to this ideological bias. While the 'text' in this case is the spoken word, it could be argued that if the researcher is selective in who was interviewed and the questions that were asked then this would affect the

emergent discourses. This was taken into consideration and similar themes were asked of each interviewee, thus making the interviews consistent to some extent. Within the CDA framework, researchers must always make transparent their choices in the research process (Wodak, 2001) and these choices of who to interview and why are made evident in the methodology chapter.

10.7 Overall Conclusions

The concepts of SD and STD have found their way into the development discourse and have become material realities. They are however contested subjects and numerous approaches and positions can be taken. This is both their major appeal and also their downfall. The concepts are battling against the backdrop of the dominant neoliberal development paradigm and in the short to medium term, there appears that this will continue to be the case. Tourism development also occurs within this setting and as an industry that is continually growing it can encompass all that is good and bad about neoliberalism and globalisation. As a neoliberal development option, tourism is a good fit, but as this case-study of tourism development in the WBR has shown, its ability to be a sustainable development option is limited. That said, SD is a journey and what has emerged from this research is that the active stakeholders have a passion for the area and through these passionate individuals, there is a desire to move along a more sustainable development pathway. Despite numerous problems in South Africa, the active stakeholders in the WBR remain optimistic for the future of the area and as one stated:

“Being optimistic in this area is the only option.”
(AC9, 2010)

Appendices

Appendix 1

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Appendix 2

List of stakeholders interviewed between 2010 and 2012

Identity in Text	Position & Group
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Public Sector

PS1	Municipality District Economic Development Officer
PS2	Municipality District Planner
PS3	Senior Manager - LEDET
PS4	LEDET - Public Sector Tourism Official
PS5	LEDET - Public Sector Tourism Official
PS6	LEDET Intern

Accommodation Providers

AC1	Owner Horizon Horse Riding Safaris & Accommodation
AC2	Semi-retired small lodge owner & WNC member
AC3	Lodge Owner & Star Gazing Tours and Solar technology
AC4	Manager Waterberg Game Reserve, Timeshare
AC5	Resident of Waterberg and Lodge Manager
AC6	Manager of Makweti Lodge, Velgevonden
AC7	Owner Equus Horse Riding
AC8	Owner Lindani Self-catering & reserve + WNC Member
AC9	Owner Horizon Horse Riding
AC10	Ant's Nest & Ant's Hill - Lodge owner, WNC Member
AC11	Owner Zeederburg's Cottages
AC12	CEO Welgevonden Reserve
AC13	Owner, Koshari Game Lodge (hunting)

Land Claimants

LC1	Land Claimant - Crocodile Farm and Lodges
LC2	Land Claimant - Lapalala Wilderness

Civil Society individuals or representatives

CS1	Waterberg Nature Conservancy Director & Horse Riding Operator
CS2	Conservationist & Biosphere Founder
CS3	Kamatsogo Crafts Proprietor (NGO) & Welgevonden Lodge Owner
CS4	WWS - Director of Timothy House Project
CS5	Governor Waterberg Academy (Private School)
CS6	WBR Chair and Farm Owner
CS7	Biosphere Reserve Coordinator, Lodge owner, WNC member
CS8	Telekishi Project Manager and Biosphere Community Representative

Other Tourism related Business Stakeholders

BS1	Owner Bush Stop Cafe Vaalwater
BS2	Bulls Eye Taxidermy
BS3	Mpatamacha Game Capture owner
BS4	Real Estate Agent Vaalwater
BS5	Artist and potential property developer

Appendix 3

Sample Questions to Interviewees

Semi-structured interview questions used in the interviews with stakeholders. These questions are sample ones only as each interview varied, but the general themes were similar.

Sample of semi-structured interview question used in the interview with accommodation provider

Introductory Questions

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself and what you do here in the Waterberg?

What does the Waterberg mean to you?

What adjectives would you use to describe the Waterberg?

Theme 1: Development and Sustainable Development

What do you see as the main development concerns in the area?

What are the roles of government in addressing development concerns?

Can these issues be addressed? How?

When you hear those words sustainable development or sustainability, does this mean anything to you?

Is sustainable development a local or global concern?

Do you feel as though you participate in making this area more sustainable?

Is there an equitable distribution of resources in the area?

What is your view of environmental conservation in the area?

Are you optimistic for the future of the Waterberg?

Theme 2: Tourism Development

Do you see the type and levels of tourism as appropriate, would you like to see more tourism here?

Are there any other forms of tourism that you would or would not like to see here?

Do local communities play a role in tourism development?

Can tourism address the development concerns you identified earlier?

There is a lot of unemployment in the area. Do you see tourism an industry that can help to solve some of these problems?

How do you see the role of the local government in tourism development?

Theme 3: Micro Context - WBR

Does the Waterberg Biosphere Reserve mean anything to you?

What about the role of the local government, do you see them as having a role in this?

Have you had any involvement with the biosphere? Why, why not?

Questions Relating to Business (Accommodation Provider)

How many people does your business employ and are they all local people?

Do you have to do your own training? Is it difficult to find people who are sufficiently skilled?
Has the training that you've given people allowed them to progress with you?
Do you work with any community groups, sell crafts or things like that?
What about suppliers, do you use local ones?
Do you do anything green or environmental?
Has running a business here changed over the years?
Has the recession affected you, do things go in cycles?
Have guests changed over the years?
Are you optimistic for the future of your business and of the Waterberg?
What about the future of the Waterberg as an area?

Appendix 4

Stakeholder Profiles

Public Sector Officials

Name in Text: PS1

Position: District Municipality Economic Development Officer. Coordinates economic development within the district, which involves mining, tourism and agriculture, transport and manufacturing.

Status and Location: Municipal government official – planner, Modimolle.

Stakeholder Group(s): Public Sector.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, male, age 45-55, educated to Masters Level – Development Studies. Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Has an agricultural background.

Name in Text: PS2

Position: District Municipality Planner. Divisional manager responsible for development planning especially land-use issues.

Status and Location: Municipal government official – planner, Modimolle.

Stakeholder Group(s): Public Sector.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, male, age 25-35, educated to degree level – Town Planning. Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Former school teacher and involved in politics during apartheid years. Dealt with transition of local government post 1994. Environmentalist.

Name in Text: PS3

Position: Provincial government senior manager – LEDET. Involved with environmental special projects, including biosphere reserves. Deals with some poverty relief programs.

Status and Location: Provincial government official, Polokwane.

Stakeholder Group(s): Public Sector.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, male, age 45-45, educated to Masters Level, resident in province.

Other Information: Previously manager of local municipality in Lephalale.

Name in Text: PS4

Position: Provincial government tourism official – LEDET. Involved in the development of tourism facilities, tourism sites and also the final product of the destination.

Status and Location: Public sector official, tourism, Modimolle.

Stakeholder Group(s): Public Sector.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, Afrikaans speaking, female, age 45-55, educated to degree level, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Born in Waterberg.

Name in Text: PS5

Position: Provincial government tourism official – LEDET. Status and Location: Public sector official, tourism, Modimolle.

Stakeholder Group(s): Public Sector.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, male, age 25-35, educated to degree level, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Heavily involved in SA's transformation.

Name in Text: PS6

Position: LEDET – Intern.

Status and Location: Public sector intern, tourism, Modimolle.

Stakeholder Group(s): Public Sector.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, female, age <25, studying for degree, Waterberg resident.

Accommodation Providers

Name in Text: AC1

Position: Owner horse riding safaris & accommodation (up-market).

Status and Location: Business owner, rural land owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White, expatriate from UK, female, age 45-55, educated to degree level, active in local church, Waterberg resident for 17+ years.

Other Information: Involved in number of community projects. In business with Smith family.

Name in Text: AC2

Position: Lodge owner (mid-up-market).

Status and Location: Former mining executive, business owner, rural land owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers, Civil Society.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, male, age 55+, educated to Masters Level – Mining Engineering & Mineral Economics. Active in conservation movement. Former chair of WNC. Career in mining at senior level, semi-retired, wife is an academic, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Trained as a geologist. Background in corporate governance.

Name in Text: AC3

Position: Lodge owner (mid-up-market), rural land and farm owner, solar power business owner and owner of astronomy-related business, governor local private school.

Status and Location: Landowner, farmer and business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation providers, other tourism-related businesses, civil society individuals/representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White, born in UK, male, age 45-55, PhD in physics from Oxford University, married into Smith family, churchgoer, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Trying to develop a 4MW solar farm which will provide electricity for the Waterberg plateau area.

Name in Text: AC4

Position: Manager timeshare game reserve (mid-market).

Status and Location: Employee, lives on site, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers.

Socio-cultural Information White, Namibian, Afrikaans speaking, female, age 35-45, career orientated, lived and moved around various locations with job, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Been in the hospitality industry since leaving school and a manager since 1992. No education since school.

Name in Text: AC5

Position: Lodge manager (up-market).

Status and Location: Accommodation manager at five-star lodge, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White English, male, age 35-45, extensive world travel, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Built house on share block. Moved around Southern Africa with work, always in top-end lodges.

Name in Text: AC6

Position: Manager of lodge in Game Reserve 1 (up-market).

Status and Location: Employee, lives in Gauteng.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, English, speaking, female, age 45-55, career orientated.

Other Information: Has run the Game Reserve 1 lodge on behalf of owners since 2000.

Name in Text: AC7

Position: Horse riding operator and accommodation owner (mid-up-market).

Status and Location: Business owner, rural land owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation providers, civil society individuals/representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, English speaking, female, age 45-55, travelled to a number of countries, member of WNC.

Other Information: Been involved in tourism since 1989 when started the first horse safari company in South Africa, near Swaziland.

Name in Text: AC8

Position: Owner self-catering lodge & reserve (mid-up-market).

Status and Location: Rural land owner, business owner, previous WNC chair, Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation providers, civil society individuals/representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, male, age 55+, member of WNC and former chair, active in trade union movement under apartheid system, churchgoer, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Involved in setting up Telekishi and a number of other local projects.

Name in Text: AC9

Position: Owner horse riding safaris & accommodation (up-market).

Status and Location: Rural land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers, Civil society individuals/representatives

Socio-cultural Information: White, originally from UK, male, age 45-55, lived in Australia, pastor at local church, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Worked in Australia in a World Heritage Area with horses. Came to SA in 1993 just before the elections. In business with Smith family.

Name in Text: AC10

Position: Lodge owner (up-market).

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation providers, civil society individuals/representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White, born in Kenya, female, age 45-55, married into Smith family, churchgoer, WNC Member, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Colonial type-upbringing. Family ran a hotel in Kenya with 80 African staff working. Worked in the UK and set up a tour operating company, selling safaris to Eastern and Southern Africa.

Name in Text: AC11

Position: Accommodation owner (mid-market).

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Vaalwater town, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, male, age 25-35, family own retail complex – long term residents.

Other Information: Family go back at least three generations in the area. Mother runs tourist shop in Vaalwater and family owns shopping complex.

Name in Text: AC12

Position: CEO large private game reserve (up-market).

Status and Location: Employee, Waterberg, employee, senior management.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation Providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, male, age 45-55, educated to Masters Level in Wildlife Research and Management. Conservation and wildlife management background, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Career in conservation management. Temporary CEO while another is recruited.

Name in Text: AC13

Position: Owner, game lodge (hunting) (mid-market).

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Accommodation providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, Afrikaans speaking, male, age 45-55, hunter.

Other Information: Got into tourism by accident taking people hunting on his land.

Other Tourism-related Businesses

Name in Text: BS1

Position: Café and retail owner Vaalwater

Status and Location: Landowner, business owner, Waterberg

Stakeholder Group(s): Other Tourism-related Businesses

Socio-cultural Information: From UK, White English speaking, female, age 45-55, lived in SA for 20+ years, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Moved to SA during apartheid years. Intend to move back to UK and pass the business to employees.

Name in Text: BS2

Position: Owner of taxidermy company.

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Other Tourism related Businesses.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, Afrikaans speaking, age 35-45, educated to degree level, active with police liaison, churchgoer, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Originally from Johannesburg and been living in Waterberg since 2008. Deals with the hunting industry and has seen business grow substantially. Hunter.

Name in Text: BS3

Position: Game capture and auction owner.

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Other Tourism related Businesses.

Socio-cultural Information White South African, Afrikaans speaking, male, age 55+, head of family business, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Lived in Waterberg since 1968, initially farmed and went into game industry (hunting) in early 70s. Started breeding scarce species such as sable, buffalo, rhinos and supplies all over Southern Africa.

Name in Text: BS4

Position: Owner real estate agent.

Status and Location: Property owner, business owner, Vaalwater, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Other Tourism related Businesses.

Socio-cultural Information: White Zimbabwean, English-speaking, male, age 45-55.

Other Information: Former Zimbabwean farmer, left due to political problems. Farmed tobacco in Waterberg and after price collapse involved in the agricultural union in the area, left the farming and started real estate business.

Name in Text: BS5

Position: Artist, potential property developer

Status and Location: Land owner, self-employed, Waterberg

Stakeholder Group(s): Other Tourism related Businesses

Socio-cultural Information: South African, white, female age 55+, part of Smith family

Other Information: Born in area. Had real estate company in Plettenberg Bay then ran a hotel with former husband. Moved back Waterberg to paint and has worked in UK. Owns land at Twenty Four Rivers (in Waterberg) and trying to get permission to do a development on the farm at Twenty Four Rivers.

Civil Society Individuals or Representatives

Name in Text: CS1

Position: Chair of Waterberg Nature Conservancy, horse riding business and lodge owner.

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives, accommodation provider.

Socio-cultural Information: American, white, male, age 55+, educated to Masters Level (Economics and Urban Planning), former USAID senior development consultant in numerous countries, current chair of WNC, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Moved around the developing world as a policy advisor in development. Moved to Waterberg after retirement and set up horse-riding business.

Name in Text: CS2

Position: Biosphere Founder.

Status and Location: Land owner, conservationist, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White South-African, male, age 55+, educated to Masters Level, founder of WNC and WBR, long-standing conservationist, author, painter, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Has had numerous posts in conservation, for example, director of the Endangered Wildlife Trust- NGO in South Africa concerned with and dangerous species. Involved in environmental education in Waterberg, mainly at Game Reserve 2. Founder member of WNC in late 1980s.

Name in Text: CS3

Position: NGO owner and lodge owner in Game Reserve 1.

Status and Location: Land owner, NGO owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White South African, female, age 35-45, educated to degree level – Educational Drama, children at local private school, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Previously lived in Botswana and moved to Waterberg in 2003 to run a game lodge in Game Reserve 1 game reserve. Set up NGO with CS2 as a charitable business which employs nearly 30 women in beadwork.

Name in Text: CS4

Position: Director of NGO.

Status and Location: Director of NGO, Vaalwater, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, male, age 25-35, educated to diploma level – Project Management.

Other Information: Wanted to go to university, but couldn't pay the fees, so did some training in community development and worked as a volunteer at the Waterberg Welfare Society (WWS). Got a job working with children at the WWS and then went through number of jobs involving HIV and AIDS treatment involving young people. Did a diploma in project management and was promoted to director for children's HIV/AIDS project.

Name in Text: CS5

Position: Governor Private School.

Status and Location: Land owner, school governor, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: White, UK born, male, 45-55, educated to degree level, lived in SA for 22 years, business owner in Johannesburg, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Bought land in the Waterberg as a second home in 1999 and moved permanently in 2004. Works in Johannesburg and commutes. Also works in UK.

Name in Text: CS6

Position: Farm owner, lodge owner & WBRMC chair.

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, farmer, major employer in Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives, Accommodation providers.

Socio-cultural Information: South African, white, male, age 45-55, family of original white settlers in Waterberg, educated in UK to PhD level in Developmental Economics from Cambridge, church goer, Waterberg resident. Part of Smith family.

Other Information: Family were first white settlers in region in 1886 and have been large landowners since. Children are 7th generation Waterbergers. Currently involved in farming, tourism industry, craft projects, consulting. Family still own larger areas of land.

Name in Text: CS7

Position: Biosphere Reserve Coordinator, Lodge owner (mid-market).

Status and Location: Land owner, business owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives, accommodation providers.

Socio-cultural Information: White, English, female, age 25-35, lived in SA for 10+ years, environmental background, educated to Masters level – Environmental Management WNC member, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Parents moved to Waterberg in early 2000s and set up a small eco-friendly lodge for mainly South African tourists and then a volunteer based project, mostly at international tourists. Since 2010 has been employed as Biosphere Reserve coordinator on part-time basis.

Name in Text: CS8

Position: Biosphere community representative, cultural tourism project manager.

Status and Location: WBR committee member, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Civil Society individuals or representatives.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, male, age 45-55, educated to matric level, from local area, moved away to Johannesburg and returned to set up cultural tourism product – Telekishi. Deputy chair of WBR committee, Waterberg resident.

Other Information: Born in rural village in Waterberg. Moved to Johannesburg in 1990. In 2003 returned home and was elected as the secretary of Masebe Nature Reserve Management Committee.

Land Claimants

Name in Text: LC1

Position: Land Claimant - Crocodile Farm and Lodge.

Status and Location: Land owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Land Claimants.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, Sepidi speaking, male, age 55+, original dweller on the land.

Other Information: Born in the Waterberg and community representative for the Sipho family, Moved onto crocodile farm land after land claim. Left with a business involving tourist attraction, crocodile farm and other farmland. Desire to develop tourism and to farm the land in whether that is crocodiles or other crops/animals.

Name in Text: LC2

Position: On-going Land Claimant – Game Reserve 2.

Status and Location: Land owner, Waterberg.

Stakeholder Group(s): Land Claimants.

Socio-cultural Information: Black South African, Sepidi speaking, male, 55+, original dweller on the land.

Other Information: Born in Waterberg, now lives in Midrand near Johannesburg. Community elected chairperson to oversee the on-going land claim on Lapalala. Claim has been going since 2000.

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